

Madman Mark  
Fowler's  
FCC finale

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# IN THESE TIMES

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## Who's Bugging the CIA?



Abbie Hoffman, Amy Carter,  
thirteen others, and a  
Massachusetts jury. **PAGE 3**

### Union raiders

Buying out the boss

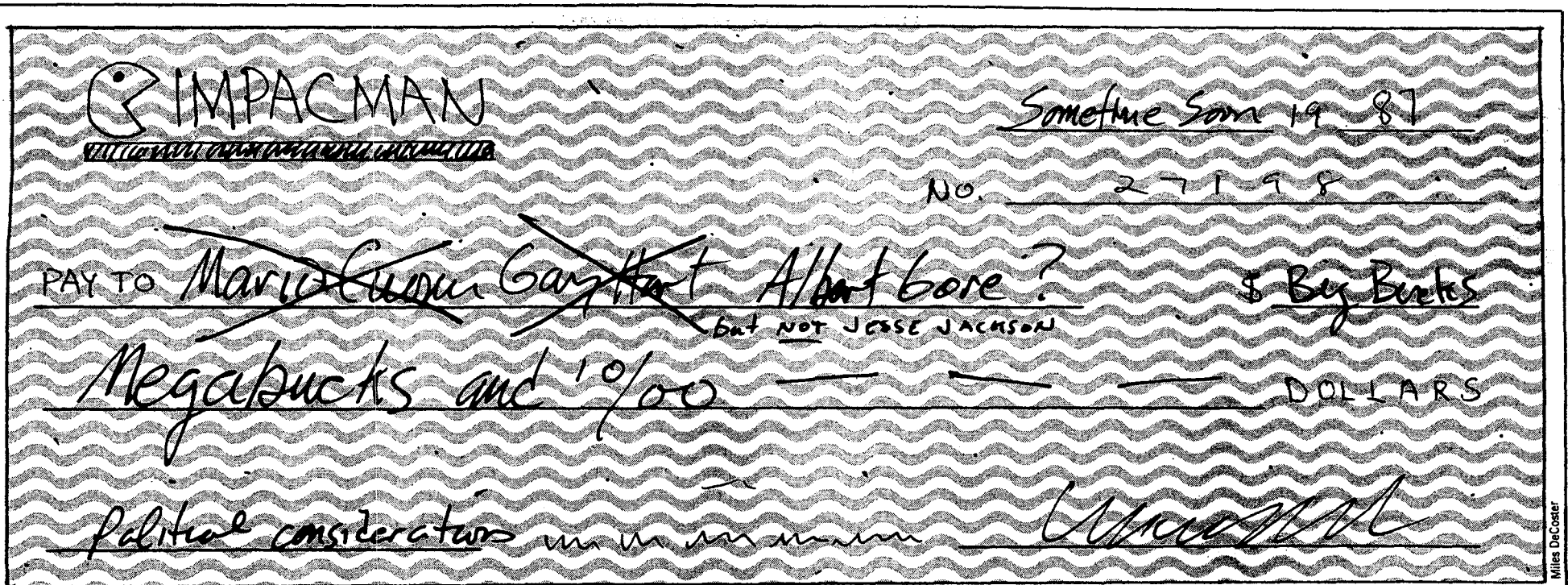
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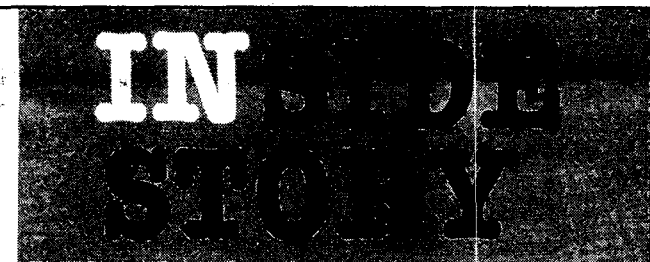


# Anatomy of a plutocracy

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

On election night November 1984 at the Mondale campaign party in Minneapolis, Nathan Landow, one of Mondale's chief fund-raisers, decided to form a new political action committee for 1988. Called IMPAC, it would create a plutocracy within the Democratic Party by uniting the wealthiest Mondale backers behind a single presidential



candidate for 1988.

Landow succeeded in forming IMPAC, whose 48 members each pledged to raise \$250,000 for a candidate in 1988, and the group met several times in 1986 and early 1987 to listen to and discuss candidates. But at its January meeting in Phoenix it became apparent that the group was hopelessly split among the candidates, with the largest number committed to Sen. Gary Hart, but with Landow himself favoring New York Gov. Mario Cuomo.

Landow did not, however, disband IMPAC. He merely

winnnowed out the dissenters. With Cuomo out of the race, Landow and 16 other IMPAC members announced this month that they were supporting Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore for the Democratic nomination. Gore, in return, reversed his earlier decision not to run and announced his candidacy. A vote for Gore is now a vote for Landow.

Even if by some miracle Gore can overcome the stigma of being a candidate created by money and capture the presidency, Landow will not succeed in becoming the Marcus Hanna of the Democratic Party. Like Hanna, the Ohio businessman who engineered William McKinley's victory in 1896, Landow appears interested in gaining political power, but he has only the vaguest ideas about how it should be exercised.

Landow's experiment raises the most fundamental questions about the role of the very wealthy in a political party ostensibly dedicated to the common man and woman.

**Getting access:** Landow, a Bethesda, Md., real-estate developer, looks and acts like a middle-aged Alexander Haig: imperious, self-important, yet charming and ingratiating. He likes answering questions about himself, but not about his political views.

He first got involved in presidential fund-raising in 1976 at the behest of Democratic National Committee Chairman Robert Strauss. He helped the Carter campaigns in 1976 and 1980, and in 1982 became Mondale's most important fund-raiser and contributor. Some of Landow's personal contributions to Mondale recently came to light in a Federal Election Commission suit. In 1981 and 1982 Landow illegally exceeded the \$5,000 limit on contributions to political action committees when he picked up the tab for \$41,843 in charter air flights by Mondale and other members of his Committee for the Future of America. But like most important contributors in this era of campaign reform, Landow's main role was getting other wealthy individuals to contribute the \$5,000 maximum to Mondale's PAC and the \$1,000 maximum to his campaign.

Within the Mondale campaign, Landow did not seek influence over policy, but rather the prestige that came from ready access to the candidate. One prominent Democrat said of Landow and Mondale, "I do remember Mondale going to Landow's son's Bar Mitzvah. It was a symbol of how Landow wanted to be recognized for his work, and how Mondale was willing to pay the coin of the realm. It seemed to be an example of purposelessness in the accumulation of money and influence that I felt had infected the party."

Mondale's Issues Director William Galston could not recall Landow attempting to sway policy within the campaign. Instead Landow was interested in placing young people within the campaign. "From time to time, he would suggest I meet with someone, and that would be someone who wanted to get started by working in the issues department. The recommendations turned out to be bright and eager young people," Galston said.

In choosing Cuomo and then Gore, both slightly left-of-center Democrats, Landow did not seem particularly interested in their policy positions. Landow described Gore as a "shining star" in an interview with *In These Times*.

Asked to be more specific, he said, "He appeals to the new generation of voter, which will comprise 58 percent of the voters. They will be younger than Al Gore."

Landow would not discuss Hart at all. And he insisted that he has treated the Rev. Jesse Jackson the way he treated the other candidates. The record appears otherwise, however.

**Questioning Jackson:** Over the past 14 months Landow's PAC met with the major Democratic candidates and several non-candidates like Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn, but they never met with Jackson. Landow now claims that he invited Jackson to a meeting last year, but Jackson's press secretary, Frank Watkins, denies that invitation was ever sent. "There was no invitation in 1986," Watkins said flatly. Journalists who covered IMPAC last year do not believe any invitation was extended to Jackson.

In an interview earlier this month with *Washington Times* correspondent Thomas Brandt, Landow announced that he had invited Jackson to meet with the group this June to get Jackson's assurance that he would support the party's nominee. "Hopefully, Jesse will also come back and support the nominee, and those supporters of Jesse will also come together," Landow said.

Landow's statement was unusual because it meant that the group was not going to interview Jackson as someone they might support for president, but only as a potential spoiler. Landow was also ignoring Jackson's repeated statements that he would support the nominee in 1988. He was treating Jackson like an unruly child. "His tone was quite intimidating. In another time, you might say he was dealing with him as a boy," Watkins said.

Landow claimed that Brandt had quoted him out of context, but Brandt stood by the interview. "I talked to Nate afterward, and he was delighted with the story," Brandt said.

Jackson sent Landow an angry letter in response to the proposed meeting, accusing him of trying to "magnify the influence of large contributors in presidential campaigns.... Does not such activity violate the spirit of campaign reform law and the principles of a Democratic Party?" Jackson asked.

**Landow honored:** Within the Democratic Party leadership, however, few have stepped forward to criticize Landow. Indeed, DNC Chair Paul G. Kirk appointed Landow to head the site selection committee for the 1988 convention.

Moreover, within the Democratic—and Republican—parties, Landow is by no means an anomaly. Campaign reform has not diminished the role of the wealthy in political campaigns; it has only altered their role. Where they functioned before primarily as donors, now they function as fundraising entrepreneurs. If Gore has his Landow, former Gov. Bruce Babbitt has San Francisco lawyer Duane Garrett, Sen. Joe Biden has department store heir Ted Field and Hart has actor Warren Beatty and real-estate developer Albert Gersten.

But Landow is trying to live their ultimate fantasy. Through creating IMPAC, Landow revealed the dream of the kingmaker that is still harbored by successful middle-aged real estate developers and building contractors. □

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By Richard Asinof

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

**S**IX JURORS—FOUR WOMEN AND TWO MEN, the youngest 34, the oldest 77—recently did what Congress has never found the courage or backbone to do: find the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency guilty of violating national and international law in its covert activities supporting the contras in Nicaragua.

On April 15, after an eight-day trial, the jury acquitted 15 defendants—including Abbie Hoffman, the 50-year-old rabble rouser, and Amy Carter, former President Jimmy Carter's 19-year-old daughter—of trespassing and disorderly conduct charges stemming from a Nov. 25, 1986, protest at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst attempting to halt CIA recruitment on campus.

The defendants argued successfully under the necessity defense permitted in Massachusetts law that the crimes they committed were of far lesser harm than the crimes being committed by the CIA in Central America. The defense strategy was to put the CIA on trial, and to that aim they assembled an impressive array of expert witnesses to testify about CIA misdeeds: Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general from 1967-69; Daniel Ellsberg, disseminator of the Pentagon Papers; Ralph McGehee, former director of covert operations for the CIA; Edgar Chamorro, a Nicaraguan paid by the CIA to pose as a "moderate" front man for the contras; Howard Zinn, political science professor at Boston University and an expert on social movements and civil disobedience; Morton Halperin, former consultant to the National Security Council; and Francis Boyle, professor of law at the University of Illinois and an expert in international law.

"This was not a defense; this was a prosecution!" said Leonard Weinglass, lead defense attorney, addressing a crowd of cheering supporters with a bullhorn from the courthouse steps moments after the verdict was announced.

**Middle America's verdict:** District Attorney W. Michael Ryan Jr., whose office prosecuted the case, said he was shocked by the verdict. "It was a great jury. It was a conservative jury. The moment they were empaneled I thought we had it won," he told reporters afterward. "I think they [the jury] were just overwhelmed by what they heard. Apparently, middle America doesn't want the CIA doing what they are doing."

Seventy-seven-year-old juror Walter LaFreniere, explaining his reasons for acquitting the defendants, told the *Daily Hampshire Gazette*: "It's not up to the CIA to start wars and murder."

Juror Anne Gaffney, a 64-year-old clerk with the U.S. Veterans Administration, praised the defendants. "These young people," she told the *Gazette*, "are doing what perhaps most of us should be doing, but we don't have time to."

Although presiding District Court Judge Richard F. Cannon said afterward that he believed no lasting precedent had been set and University of Massachusetts Chancellor Joseph Duffey said the ruling would have no impact on the school's policy regarding demonstrators, the trial's significance goes beyond what defense lawyer Thomas Lesser of Northampton called "the first major victory of the necessity defense" in the "most important political trial of the decade."

## 'This was not a defense; this was a prosecution'

The trial connected the political threads of social action, non-violence and student protest running through the last four decades and tied them together with the current outcry against Reagan administration policy in Central America. The trial's transcript will serve not only as a textbook for trial lawyers handling similar "necessity defense" cases, but will also prove an historic document—a testament to the forces of social change.

So much came full circle in this trial:

• The trial was held in Northampton, Mass., home of Calvin Coolidge, who as president in 1926 sent the U.S. Marines to Nicaragua to quell a "peasant uprising." In an even more delicious ironic twist, Coolidge, whose legend is celebrated by a monument right outside the stone courthouse, once served as the clerk of courts in the same courtroom where the jury returned its not-guilty verdict. "There are a lot of

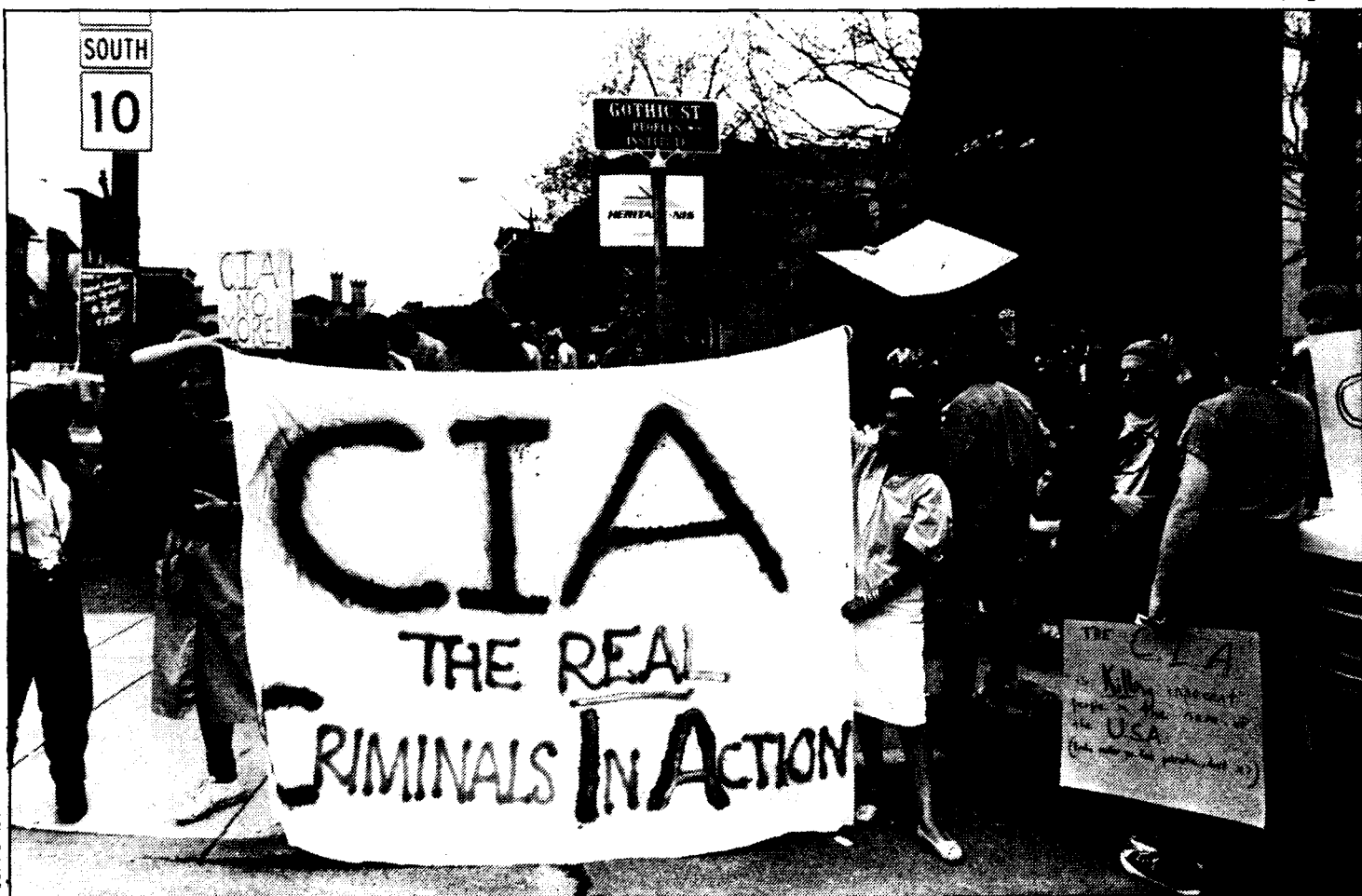
ghosts here," said District Attorney Ryan, surveying the courtroom during recess one afternoon.

• In 1969 former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark had been prevented from testifying by Judge Julius Hoffman in the infamous conspiracy trial of the Chicago Eight, where Abbie Hoffman was one of the defendants charged with crossing state lines to incite a riot at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, and Leonard Weinglass was one of the attorneys defending him. Now, 18 years later, they were all together in court again—Hoffman the defendant, Weinglass the defense lawyer and Clark finally on the witness stand. So it was poignant when Clark, responding to a question by Assistant District Attorney Diane Fernald about whether an action had to be illegal in order to have an effect in changing public policy, replied: "I believe that if Rosa Parks had not

refused to move to the back of the bus, you and I might never have heard of Dr. Martin Luther King. It took that kind of dramatic action to awaken this nation to its flaw of racism."

• It was even more poignant when former Pentagon analyst Daniel Ellsberg explained to the jury his reasons for copying the then-secret study of the Vietnam War that later became known as the Pentagon Papers. The catalyst, Ellsberg testified, had been his meeting in 1969 with Randall Kehler, a war resister on his way to prison, who had chosen to go to jail rather than cooperate with the draft board. Kehler's stance floored Ellsberg, making him ask this question of himself: what can I do non-violently, truthfully, to help end this war? And "Do I, Daniel Ellsberg, have a right to be silent because I've been ordered to be silent?" A few weeks later Ellsberg decided to copy the Pentagon Papers and given them to Sen. William Fulbright (D-AR), who was then chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, knowing full well that act might result in his spending the rest of his life in jail. (Kehler, who now lives in Colrain, Mass., 20 miles from Northampton, went on to become the found-

Continued on page 22



A protest for the protesters: Demonstrators (above) wait outside a Northampton, Mass., courtroom as a jury deliberates in the case of 15 anti-CIA protesters. The jury decided that the CIA was indeed "the real criminal," bringing smiles to the faces of defendants Abbie Hoffman (left) and Amy Carter (right).



**The defendants argued successfully under the necessity defense permitted in Massachusetts law that the crimes they committed were of less harm than those being committed by the CIA in Central America.**





# INSHORT

By Joel Bleifuss

## A report implicates the president

After a long and contentious session of the National Security Council's (NSC) board on a supply operation, the Tower Commission absolved Ronald Reagan of blame, concluding, "The board was aware of no evidence to suggest that the president was aware of Lt. Col. North's activities." Clearly the commission did not read its own report, because buried in Footnote 93 of Appendix B is this damning revelation: on October 12 North wrote National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane and said, "We urgently need to find a high-powered lawyer and benefactor who can raise a legal defense for Hassenius [sic] in Managua. If we can find such persons we cannot only hold Gene and Sally Hassenius together (i.e., on our side, not pawns of the CIA and its propaganda machine) but can make some significant headway of our own in counter-attacking in the media... Have also located approx. \$100K from a donor... Believe this to be a matter of great urgency to hold things together. Unfortunately, [sic] [Ronald Reagan] was briefed that this plan was being contemplated before he left for Iceland [the Reykjavik summit] and am concerned that along about Wednesday, when people begin to think of things other than meetings in cold places, he will remember this and nothing will have been done." A federal investigator told Murray Waas and Joe Conason of the *Chicago Voice* (April 21) that this letter "smacks of hush money." And a source on the Tower Commission, characterizing the letter as "documentary proof," said, "Did the president know about it or approve it in some fashion? This [the letter] clearly raises the possibility." Which, in turn, begs the question: how much evidence does it take to implicate a president who always remained so far from the action?

## Meese's White House cover-up

In early 1986 Attorney General Edwin Meese reportedly instructed the U.S. district attorney, William Kellner, to "proceed very, very slowly" in his investigation of alleged drug-running and cocaine trafficking by the Contra supply network. (See *LA Times*, March 10, 1986.) The administration didn't want any embarrassing revelations to jeopardize the upcoming congressional votes on Contra aid. In the past, Murray Waas and Joe Conason, writing in the *Chicago Voice* (March 3, April 14, 21), have thoroughly documented the Meese cover-up. Here are three of their more incriminating revelations:

- On May 14, 1986, an assistant U.S. attorney in Miami recommended to the Justice Department that a grand jury be convened to investigate "criminal activities including gun-running and Neutrality Act violations." His superior, U.S. District Attorney Kellner, added this note: "I concur that we have sufficient evidence to ask for a grand jury." But on May 20 Meese and his deputy, Lowell Jensen, convinced Kellner to change his memo to read, "At present it would be premature to take this matter to a grand jury... A grand jury at this point would represent a fishing expedition."

- On Oct. 30, 1986, Meese asked Associate Attorney General Stephen Trot to instruct FBI Director William Webster to delay the FBI investigation into Southern Air Transport, the Florida-based company used by Lt. Col. Oliver North's illegal contra supply network to transport arms to the contras. Webster obeyed, writing to the head of the FBI's Criminal Division, he said, "Trot called on the secure line at the request of the attorney general to ask that we suspend for 10 days any non-urgent work in the Southern Air Transport Neutrality Act investigation. Apparently there are some sensitive hostage negotiations now underway that could possibly be prejudiced... You informed me that we were just at the preliminary stages, and this should present no difficulty." The investigation was resumed 27 days later, weeks after Southern Air Transport's role in the Iran arms deals became public.

- On Nov. 24, 1986, Meese's order informed Oliver North that the Justice Department would be reviewing National Security Council files. That evening at 6:30 p.m. North and his secretary Fawn Hall began destroying documents and computer files related to the Iran-contra scandal. They continued doing so through November 25. In the meantime, Meese interviewed North and National Security Adviser John Poindexter. North admitted diverting funds to the contras and Poindexter admitted knowing about it. However, what the two told Meese is of no use to prosecutors because, for a long time, general counsel had the men the Miranda warning, but neither of what was said.

## Garbage baggers: New York-bred trash heads south

Of late New Orleans has been desperately trying to attract new cargo through its sagging port. Vessels and barges plowing up the Mississippi River are normally a welcome sight.

But when a barge loaded with 3,000 tons of homeless New York garbage began making its way up the river on April 16, Louisiana officials, displaying their new-found environmental sensitivity, said that imported commercial waste wasn't what they had in mind to shore up a flagging economy. "While I'd like to help them," Gov. Edwin W. Edwards told the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, no doubt sincerely, "we just don't have room for it."

The state quickly banished the leaking garbage scow and its stinking load—used bedpans and syringes were only two of the many diverse items aboard—from the river. By week's end the barge was floating aimlessly in the Gulf of

Mexico, the tugboat captain awaiting new orders.

The sentiments of many were summed up by the mayor of one of the coastal barrier islands, Grand Isle's Tommy Marullo: "If that big garbage can is oozing, we've got to get it out of here. We don't need any New York garbage floating in our water. We've got enough problems of our own."

The 1,400 mile Gotham garbage odyssey began in March when Islip Town, a suburban Long Island community, sent a load of commercial waste to Queens for compaction. Like dozens of other New York counties—New York City alone produces 25,000 tons of garbage a day—Islip Town must export much of its waste to other states. From Queens the 3,000 one-ton wired bales were stacked onto a barge and shepherded to a North Carolina landfill where the load's owner, National Waste Contractors, had arranged to dump.

But when the *Mobro 4000* barge arrived, pushed by the *Break of Dawn* tugboat, North Carolina environmental officials wanted cer-

tification that the load contained no hazardous materials, a guarantee New York officials could not make.

The contractor then turned to North Carolina farmers, offering \$5 a ton to bury it under their land. But before any farmer could consider this unique payment-in-kind offer, state officials obtained a court order denying the load to anyone, initiating a week-long standoff between the state and the company.

"We stood eyeball-to-eyeball with them for several days," said Ernest Carl, a North Carolina environmental official. "We were gearing up to have the barge declared a waste storage area, but before we did that they left. It was a frantic week."

After cutting a deal with a landfill owner several miles up river of New Orleans, the barge left Morehead City, N.C., at the end of March.

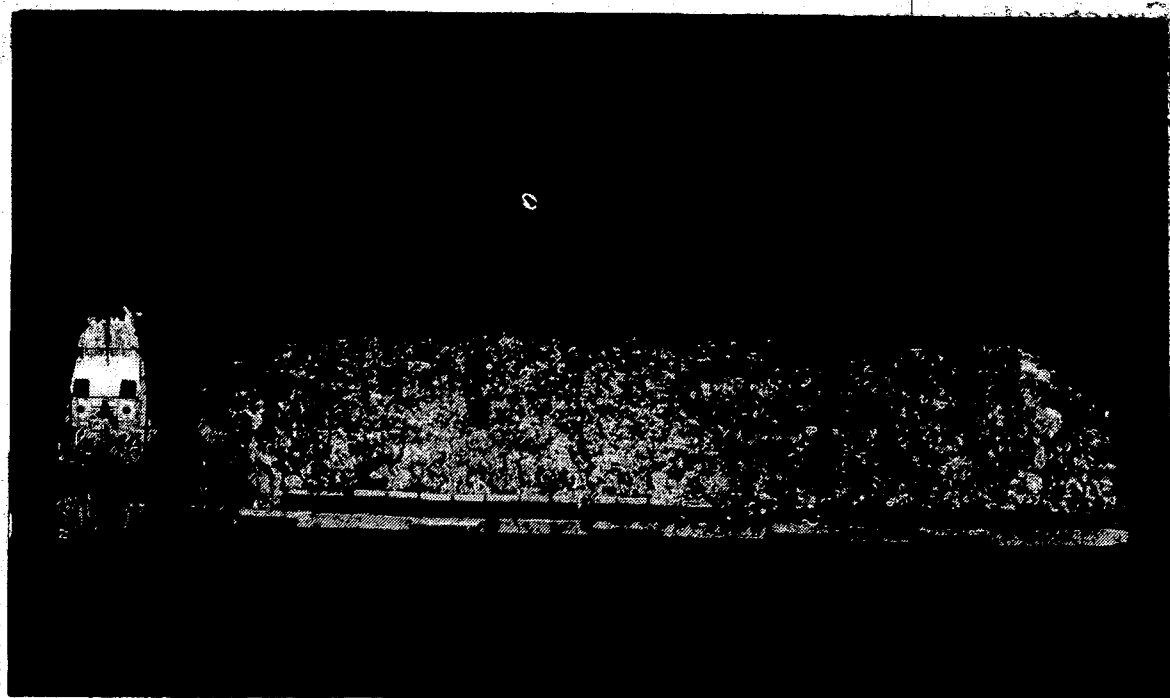
But before the garbage scow had found the mouth of the Mississippi River, Louisiana officials had told the landfill it could not accept the load. On Friday, April 17, as media attention focused on the saga of the wayward scow, helicopters, boats and airplanes came out to meet it. State officials inspected the load, found it was leaking a dark, viscous substance and banished it from the river.

Over that weekend the barge tied up to a Conoco oil rig in the Gulf of Mexico and that mooring held until the company decided that being hitched to a leaking garbage scow laden with used bedpans was bad public relations.

But National Waste Containers owner Lowell Harrelson was undaunted, if cryptic: "I have redirected my efforts in the direction of a few Caribbean countries whose need for electrical production is greater than their fear of the source."

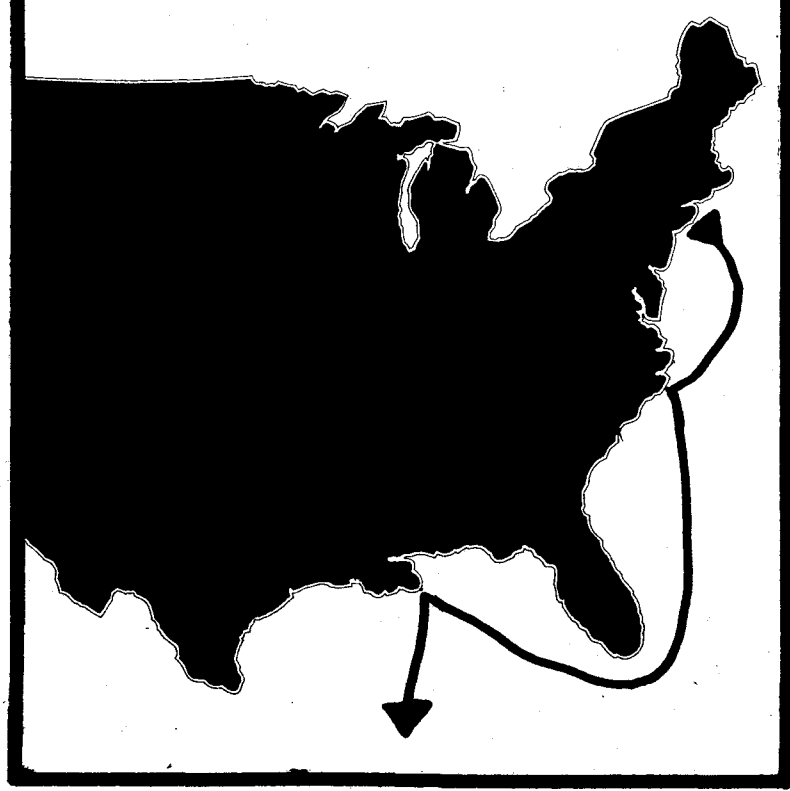
Two days later Campeche, Mexico, accepted the New York trash with open palms. And the words of Carl in North Carolina hung in the air: "There are millions of tons waiting to follow it wherever it ends up."

—Zack Nauth



Eliot Kamentz

Spurned in the U.S., 3,000 tons of commercial and industrial waste head for a Mexican home.





## Czechoslovakia takes aim at dissident

East European dissidents are rallying to support a 26-year-old Czech warehouse worker, Petr Pospichal. Pospichal, a popular figure among Czech youth, was arrested in a January 22 raid on his home in Brno, Moravia, and charged with subversion.

Pospichal has been active in the two Czech human rights groups, Charter 77 and Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS). He was also a member of the Jazz Section, a cultural organization that felt the heavy hand of Czech authority last fall (see *In These Times*, Dec. 17, 1986).

On February 3 the state charged Pospichal with "subversion of the republic," a crime that carries a 3-to-10-year prison term. He is accused of maintaining contact with Solidarity in Poland, corresponding with Czech emigrés and collecting written materials relating to human rights organizations. Czech authorities completed the preliminary investigation against Pospichal in only 15 days, the quickest such investigation in the past 10 years, according to VONS. It is thought that this exceptional efficiency is an attempt to forestall international protest.

Shortly after Pospichal's arrest, VONS called on the international community to protest his plight, appealing particularly to Polish Solidarity and other Eastern European friends. On February 12 human rights activists, including former Foreign Minister Jiri Jajec, novelist Václav Havel, writer Ludvík Vaculík and others formed a Committee for the Release of Petr Pospichal. This marks only the sec-

ond time in 10 years that a committee has been formed in Czechoslovakia with the purpose of releasing a specific political prisoner. In efforts to draw further attention to Pospichal's case, several committee members and others have staged hunger strikes.

On February 17, responding to the VONS appeal, Solidarity's Provisional Council in Warsaw issued a declaration protesting Pospichal's arrest. Seven Solidarity leaders signed the statement, emphasizing that Pospichal's actions agree with "the most honorable traditions" and deserve "the highest recognition and respect."

Although distributing the journal *Information on Charter 77* is allowed under Czech law, this activity was included as part of the "incriminating evidence" in Pospichal's indictment. VONS members argue that if Pospichal "indeed distributed some of its issues...he was doing the same as its editors and many other people...who have never been prosecuted" for their actions.

According to Amnesty International, which has twice adopted this young man as a prisoner of conscience, Pospichal has resisted the Czech state for many years.

First imprisoned at age 17, Pospichal spent 11 months in jail in 1978 for self-publishing literature and distributing musical recordings. In 1982, while doing his military service, he was jailed for 18 months. Pospichal was at that time found guilty of "incitement"—discussing Charter 77 and playing "anti-state" tapes to other servicemen.

Since then he has frequently been the object of police harassment. State security agents twice abducted him; in one case they pretended to shoot him near the bor-

der in what would have looked like an escape attempt. Police have illegally entered Pospichal's home and have often interrogated, followed or detained him for short periods.

Many believe that Pospichal's harsh treatment reflects the Czech government's increasing anxiety



Petr Pospichal

about contacts between Charter 77, Solidarity in Poland and opposition groups in Hungary and East Germany.

Such cooperation made news last October when 122 prominent dissidents from these four countries signed a joint statement marking the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution and the subsequent Soviet invasion.

The London-based East European Cultural Foundation maintains Pospichal's persecution is an attempt to deter the establishment of permanent and close ties between the democratic forces in Eastern Europe.

In fact, the right of Eastern Europeans to make contacts and exchange information with each other—a right embodied in the Helsinki principle of "detente from below"—will be the issue on trial when Petr Pospichal goes to court.

—Bob McGlynn

life sentence for treason. Many Israelis resent the way he has been treated. American Jews, on the other hand, are showing increasing anguish over a case that has brought into question the whole relationship between Israel and the Diaspora.

In his secret disposition prepared for the Washington Federal Court in which Pollard was tried, Weinberger says America maintains an intelligence-gathering effort against "friendly countries" and suggests that Pollard has done immense damage to this. Three countries in particular are singled out: Israel itself, Saudi Arabia and South Africa.

Exactly how much secret American material on South Africa Pollard passed to the Israelis is unclear, but the CIA is convinced that much of what leaked to Jerusalem was promptly handed over to Pretoria. As a result, South Africans were alerted not only to the fact that they were a target of America's intelligence-gathering efforts, but also of the expense of those efforts and the way they were being conducted.

Much of the data, which Pollard stole from the U.S., was "raw intelligence," unedited reports from

agents and monitoring stations, which contained both clues about when, where and by whom particular pieces of information are gathered, and assessments of the reliability of the informants. That gave South Africa's counterintelligence plenty of material to track down spies in its midst.

In calling for a life sentence for Pollard, Weinberger cites as one of his reasons the damage the spy has done to the "sources and methods" of U.S. intelligence.

The South African connection helps explain the administration's dismay at the Pollard case. Though still regarded as a "friendly country," South Africa is considered a crucial intelligence target because of its position as a regional superpower. U.S. officials were anxious for independent assessments of South Africa's ability to resist economic sanctions and of the effectiveness of the arms embargo.

But the South Africans are thought by some experts to be as tough a target for espionage as the Soviet Union. The Pollard spying has jeopardized years of painstaking efforts.

—Jon Connell

## 'Groupthink'

Why is the American public (i.e. Congress, the dominant news media, Hollywood's culture machine, etc.) so reluctant to cast a questioning eye on the world around it? Part of the answer might be found in a story by Daniel Goleman in the March *Psychology Today*. In an article titled, "Who Are You Kidding?—Self-deception may help you avoid some of life's anxieties, but it doesn't always lead to blue skies," Goleman writes, "The tacit agreement of members in any group not to notice or openly acknowledge some troubling truth has been dubbed 'groupthink.' ...The need to reduce the stress of decision-making leads group members to suppress certain lines of critical inquiry.... The dangers of groupthink are greatest when there is a strong leader and people feel the group is not just close-knit but special. Critical questions then are less likely to come up, since they may diminish the leader's prestige or otherwise challenge the group's feelings of pride and closeness."

## Big Brother's lexicon

The State Department's 1987 edition of *Dictionary of International Relations Terms* contains a fallacious definition and has consequently been recalled, according to Jim Anderson of the United Press International. It seems the dictionary defined *contras* as a group of "counterrevolutionaries" that "comprise former members of the Somozist National Guard, dissident right-wing former Sandinistas and the Miskito Indian minority." It is not known how the new definition will read, but judging from the Senate testimony of Assistant Secretary of State for International American Affairs Elliot Abrams (one of the more reptilian contragate co-conspirators) it will go like this: "Contras: A very broad and representative military force of people from all walks of life who are led by disillusioned former members of the Sandinista government." Commenting on the upcoming revision, Larry Birns, director of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, said, "Maybe Alexis de Tocqueville was right when he said that Russia and America are similar. In the Soviet Union, names of former officials are excised from reference works. The State Department has now muzzled one of the first non-ideological documents issued during the Reagan administration that vaguely conforms to reality."

## High-priced Red-baiting

Every week the American Federation of Teachers spends close to \$10,000 in the *New York Times* advertising the mental drivel of its president, Albert Shanker. In his latest Red-baiting foray, Cold War socialist Shanker, invoking the spirit of his mother, admonishes his fellow union leaders for "hanging out with the wrong crowd." That wayward group was the crowd that gathered in Washington this past weekend to protest U.S. policies in Central America and Southern Africa. Of course, those who were supporting this protest—like Mary Futrell of the National Education Association—were not in themselves bad. They were, says Shanker, the unwitting dupes of Marxist-Leninists. Shanker quotes John T. Joyce, president of the Bricklayers Union, as saying, "Anyone who knows or remembers the popular fronts put together by the Communists in the '30s will know precisely how the April Mobilization works and what it is all about." Of course, those who remember Shanker's die-hard support of the Vietnam War will draw their own conclusions.

## Adapting to the invisible hand

This report just in from a publication called *U.S. Floor Covering News*: "Even though the middle class consists of a plurality of Americans, recent demographic studies reveal that it is shrinking. However, this does not mean that Americans are becoming upwardly mobile and infiltrating the upper-class category. These statistics should be studied and analyzed by floor covering retailers so that they can adjust their marketing strategies accordingly. A shrinking middle class, or a growing lower class does not necessarily mean that retailers will have to close their doors."

For a more straightforward look at how the rich have gotten richer and everyone else has gotten poorer, pick up the April issue of *Dollars & Sense*. It explains how the Treasury Department, with the Federal Reserve Board's apparent collusion, altered the results of the 1984 "Survey of Consumer Finances" to hide the fact that the top 0.5 percent of U.S. households owned 35.1 percent of the nation's net wealth.

## U.S. spies on 'friendly countries'

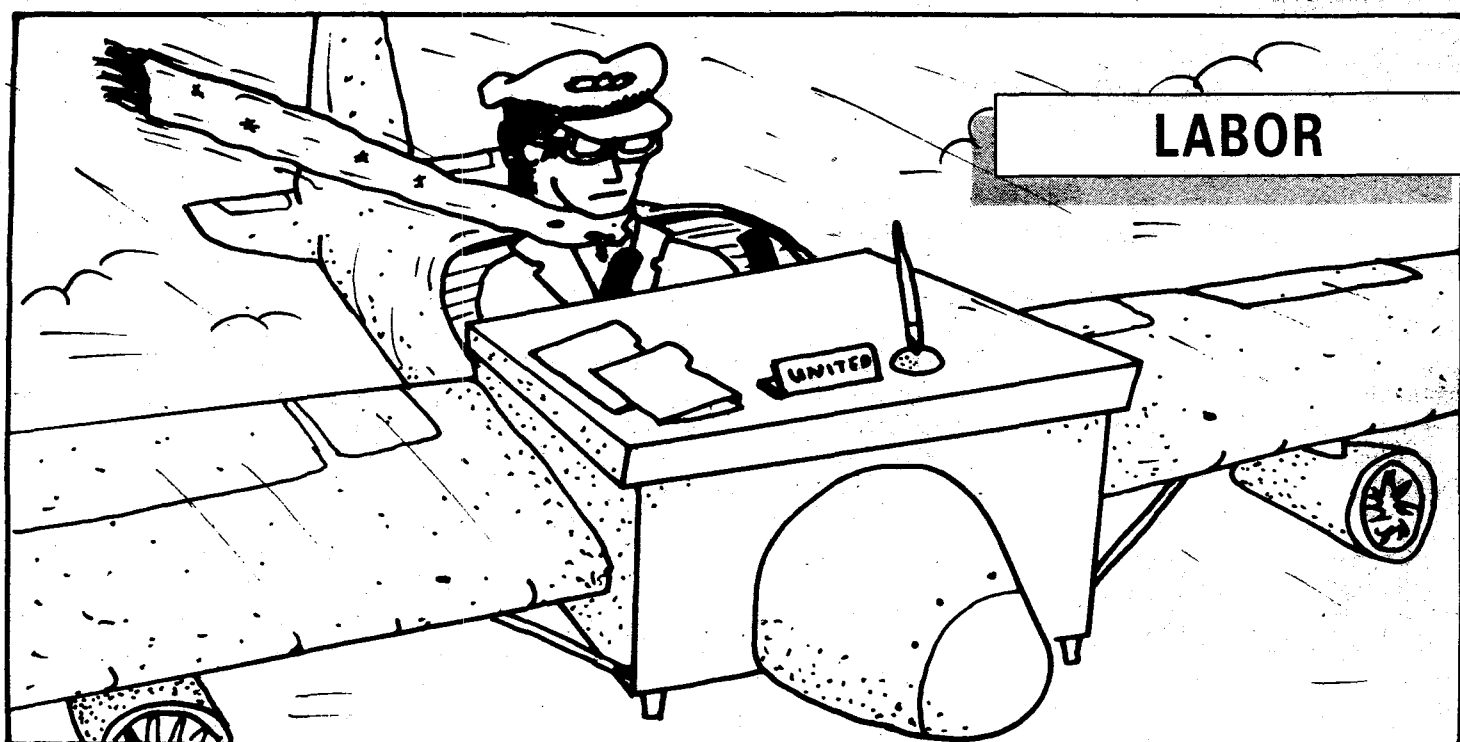
The Sunday Times of London recently ran this startling story about an affidavit Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger prepared for the Pollard spy trial in Washington. The Times article, reprinted here in its entirety, has been given scant attention by the dominant U.S. media.

Israel's master spy in the U.S., Jonathan J. Pollard, has greatly compromised U.S. intelligence operations against South Africa. According to Washington sources, Pollard gave the Israelis much highly secret U.S. intelligence on South Africa. The Israelis, in turn, are believed to have given this to the South Africans.

The disclosure is contained in a 41-page affidavit prepared by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Weinberger suggests that at least one U.S. agent in South Africa has been "blown" because of Pollard, and that others may have been similarly exposed.

The revelation is certain to heighten the already bitter controversy over Pollard, who has just begun a





## Will United Airlines pilots' takeover bid fly?

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

**T**HE LATEST HIGH-STAKES CORPORATE RAID is not a Texas oil billionaire or a *nouveau riche* New York stock speculator: it's a union. The Air Line Pilots Association's \$4.5 billion bid for United Air Lines surprised and infuriated United Chairman Richard Ferris. This is not what unions are supposed to do.

But increasingly, U.S. unions are turning to forms of employee ownership and other "capital strategies." With capital strategies, unions contest dearly-prized management prerogatives and seek to influence or control the use of capital to protect their members' interests.

Conglomerate spinoffs, outsourcing, plant closings, overseas flight of capital and restructuring triggered by mergers and takeovers are some of the woes that have pushed unions to seek new strategies to control capital. In an era of growth and expansion, unions could stick to demands for better wages, benefits and working conditions and do reasonably well. But "we're in an era when

unions cannot fully protect interests of members in traditional ways," argues labor adviser Randy Barber.

In the past workers could laugh or curse at managerial incompetence. Now they find it costs them their jobs or hard-earned benefits, and they must combat it for their own sakes, as case studies in the current *Labor Research Review* demonstrate.

**Going after UAL, Inc.:** The post-deregulation airline industry has been the arena for a turbulent clash of fragmented unions with strong-willed but often wrong-headed managers. In 1985 United pilots staged a spectacularly well-organized and effective strike, yet even in "victory" made concessions. But with new cohesiveness as a union and the conviction that UAL, Inc., Chairman Richard J. Ferris was managing the company badly and at their expense, the pilots retained the investment banking firm of Lazard Freres to investigate purchase through an employee stock ownership plan (ESOP). Although ESOPs have been abused by companies, especially in management-leveraged buyouts, they can offer workers special advan-

tages. Since the ESOP can deduct both principal and interest payments on its debt from taxes, and lenders can deduct half of interest payments, ESOP bidders have a financial advantage.

Ferris is pursuing two strategies that distressed the pilots—and much of Wall Street, ALPA manager of economic analysis Jalmer Johnson said. First, he is spinning off profitable parts of the airline, such as the company's lucrative reservation system, as separate entities under the UAL, Inc., holding company. That would leave the basic airline operations stripped down and less profitable and its employees more vulnerable to attack.

Second, Ferris has taken cash from the airline and bought—at prices widely thought inflated—Hertz and Hilton International hotels (to add to UAL's Westin chain). He wanted to make UAL an integrated travel company, soon to be known as Allegis (a costly name change to what sounds like "a world-class disease," according to real estate mogul Donald Trump, whose interest in UAL's hotels might mesh neatly with the pilots' proposal). "If we were running the airline, we'd probably have a newer, quieter, more fuel-efficient fleet of airplanes," ALPA spokesman Jim Waters said.

Financed by a voluntary diversion of assets in one of their pension funds, a 25 percent wage "redirection" from their paychecks into ESOP stock and a 10 percent productivity increase, the union's bid would involve an agreement not to strike for seven years and a wage freeze as concessions to bankers.

**Mixed response:** Although the flight attendants have shown some interest, the Machinists, the other major United union with an historically distant relation with the pilots, have been cool to the deal. (Technically the buy-out would not be done by the union but by employees. But those in unions can participate only if the union negotiates it.) Machinist Vice President John Peterpaul said he had philosophical "problems with using the union as an investment vehicle," although the machinists had exchanged stock for concessions at several troubled airlines. Also, he thought the proposed financing unfairly burdened employees and loaded the company with potentially harmful debt

used simply for the purchase, not improvements.

Is the pilots' plan a good deal for workers? That depends on the alternatives. "There's potential for substantial cuts in pay in the next round [of bargaining in 1988]," Johnson said. "They have even threatened to liquidate the airline. We feel our future and the future of the airline are very cloudy. The pay cuts [in the buyout] are relatively small compared to the costs of interrupting our careers." Pilots are more vulnerable to corporate shakeups than machinists because their pay is so dramatically tied to seniority within a particular company.

Another buyer could take over United, or Ferris could fight a takeover by buying back at great expense stock the company just issued. In either case there could be increased debt and concession pressure. And in either case the money to finance the deal will come from banks and pension funds—other workers' money—and will be repaid by United workers' concessions. And the deal will enrich a few wealthy people who will very profitably sell the company again when the debt is repaid, argues Malon Wilkus, president of American Capital Strategies. "The employees wind up paying anyway," says Corey Rosen, director of the National Center for Employee Ownership. "So they might as well own it and take control of their destiny."

Unlike earlier, not very successful airline employee investments, United is a healthy industry giant, and the union has acted with careful planning to forestall an expected crisis, not to respond to one. "The pilots have put the company in play, and they can take it out of play if management agrees to treat them better," Wilkus argues. "Even if they fail in the buyout, they may nevertheless succeed with a collective bargaining strategy."

Despite the publicity of worker-owners saving failing firms, such ESOPs make up only about 2 percent of the estimated 7,000 plans. Most involve takeovers of privately held firms from retiring owners. But the era of big-worker bids for prosperous public companies may be starting. Last year American Capital Strategies helped the UAW and the Steelworkers to bid for the Robertshaw Controls Company in order to halt its shift of manufacturing to Korea, Mexico, Brazil and Taiwan. But their \$418 million offer came in second. Other bids for large public companies by unions are now in the works. Also, Wilkus is helping to organize an equity ESOP fund with assets from labor-management jointly administered pension funds that can help finance union-initiated buyouts.

Most unions are still reluctant to propose alternative directions for capital. Some fear an erosion of the union adversarial role and of worker solidarity if workers become little owners identifying with the firm. Others simply are daunted by the new challenge of trying to be a better boss than the boss. There certainly are risks, especially if unions do not have a clear strategy that builds worker power from the lowest levels on up. But there are also great risks in not challenging management's use of capital.

Capital strategies cannot replace collective bargaining and certainly not political action, which can accomplish more than union pressure to redirect capital. But they can win limited gains, give new legitimacy to unions as representing the broadest social interests and, most of all, make the use of capital a public issue. □

### Potpourri of union capital strategies

Examples of union capital strategies to influence management and investment tried in the last several years are few but varied:

- Steelworkers forced the resignation of Wheeling-Pittsburgh's chief executive.
- Machinists forestalled wage givebacks by showing Eastern Airlines how to save \$137 million over three years.
- Allied Industrial Workers gained jobs by "contracting in" work at Harley-Davidson they proved they could do efficiently.
- Steelworkers won strong language against contracting out and the UAW won guaranteed jobs at John Deere and Caterpillar for 90 percent of workers during the life of the new contracts.
- GM and the UAW set up a jointly administered fund for new investment (although it hasn't been used yet), and Philadelphia-area Food and Commercial Workers set up a grocer-financed fund to start worker-owned food stores.

- The UE (electrical workers) fought—unsuccessfully—for conversion of a South Carolina GE plant to produce alternative energy and environmental protection equipment.
- Steelworkers and the Tri-State Conference have pushed for use of eminent domain to take over steel mills and create a regional steel authority.
- Construction trades unions have used pension funds to build low-cost housing and to start unionized, employee-owned contracting firms.
- ACTWU (clothing and textile workers) blocked a management-leveraged buyout, and other unions are devising "poison pills" or worker "tin parachutes" as merger protection.
- Numerous unions have demanded that companies open their books to prove need for concessions and often have pressed for management concessions and stock to balance worker givebacks. —D.M.



By Salim Muwakkil

MOBILE, ALA.

**F**OR A MAN WHO SAYS HE BELIEVES IN PEACE and pluralism, Ishmael Jaffree sure has caused a lot of trouble in this sleepy Gulf Coast city. First, he challenged Alabama's moment-of-silence school prayer law in a lawsuit and won. This triumph was seen as a defeat by most Alabamians, but his victory was further crowned with a favorable Supreme Court ruling. Then Jaffree sued again to make sure the state's recalcitrant officials actually would follow the ruling.

Although the 43-year-old black attorney has lived here for only a decade, he's managed to thoroughly antagonize the city's black and white leadership alike; given the historical divergence of those two groups' interests, Jaffree's performance is a marvel of political dexterity. Most established black leaders disagree with his civil libertarian views and distrust his lack of religious passion, while white leadership in this town of the Deep South simply regards him as a black atheist, which places him a rung or two above Satan.

His most consistent public opponent, however, is U.S. District Judge W. Brevard Hand, whose recent edict banning certain textbooks from the state school system for pushing "the godless religion of secular humanism" (see *In These Times*, April 1) alerted opponents of theocracy to the need for greater vigilance. Hand's ruling was stayed by an appellate court's temporary injunction, but Jaffree says the judge's action represents the opening salvo in another of their ongoing legal battles.

When Jaffree sued to end the moment-of-silence practice, it was Hand who flagrantly disregarded legal precedent and ruled against him. Hand's ruling was rejected on appeal and in 1983 the Supreme Court struck down the Alabama law. According to Jaffree, Hand perceived the court's decision as a personal affront more than a legal defeat.

"It's as if Judge Hand and his fundamentalist allies are out to show me—who they see as an uppity nigger—that I can't stop white folks in the heart of the Bible belt from teaching what they consider to be God's true religion," Jaffree says. After losing in the Supreme Court, Hand transformed the defendants from the Jaffree case—about 600 fundamentalist parents and teachers—into plaintiffs in the refashioned "secular humanism" case. And as his recent ruling indicated, Hand is not yet ready to concede defeat. There's a virtual consensus among legal experts, however, that the judges' decision will again be overturned.

**Is he crazy?** Hand's motives are easy to discern: he wants to protect the traditions of the Christian South from assaults by godless liberals. But why would an outspoken black man, already a prime target for racist scapegoating in a region where whites still lynch "uppity" blacks, risk further jeopardy by attacking hallowed religious traditions?

"My wife is a Baha'i and I am an agnostic in matters of religion," he explains. "At the beginning of our marriage we agreed not to force religion on our children. We wanted them to be free thinkers and learn about various religions and philosophies without being pressured to accept any of them. But when they went to school we soon discovered they were being literally indoctrinated into an aggressive 'born-again' style of Christianity. This meant that all of our plans for the children were being undermined by those teachers who doubled as preachers."

# A civil libertarian in the Deep South finds few friends, black or white

Jaffree first tried informal methods to protest their blatant proselytizing, but he says the school board ignored his complaints. He sought allies among the area's small populations of Jews and Buddhist refugees from Indochina, but apparently they found his offer easy to refuse. He says the city's black community told him he was barking up the wrong tree.

It was black leadership's reaction that most demoralized Jaffree. "Black leaders are too parochial in their interests," he argues.

## IN PERSON

"If it doesn't immediately concern something with racial overtones or have a civil rights angle, most black leaders don't want to get involved."

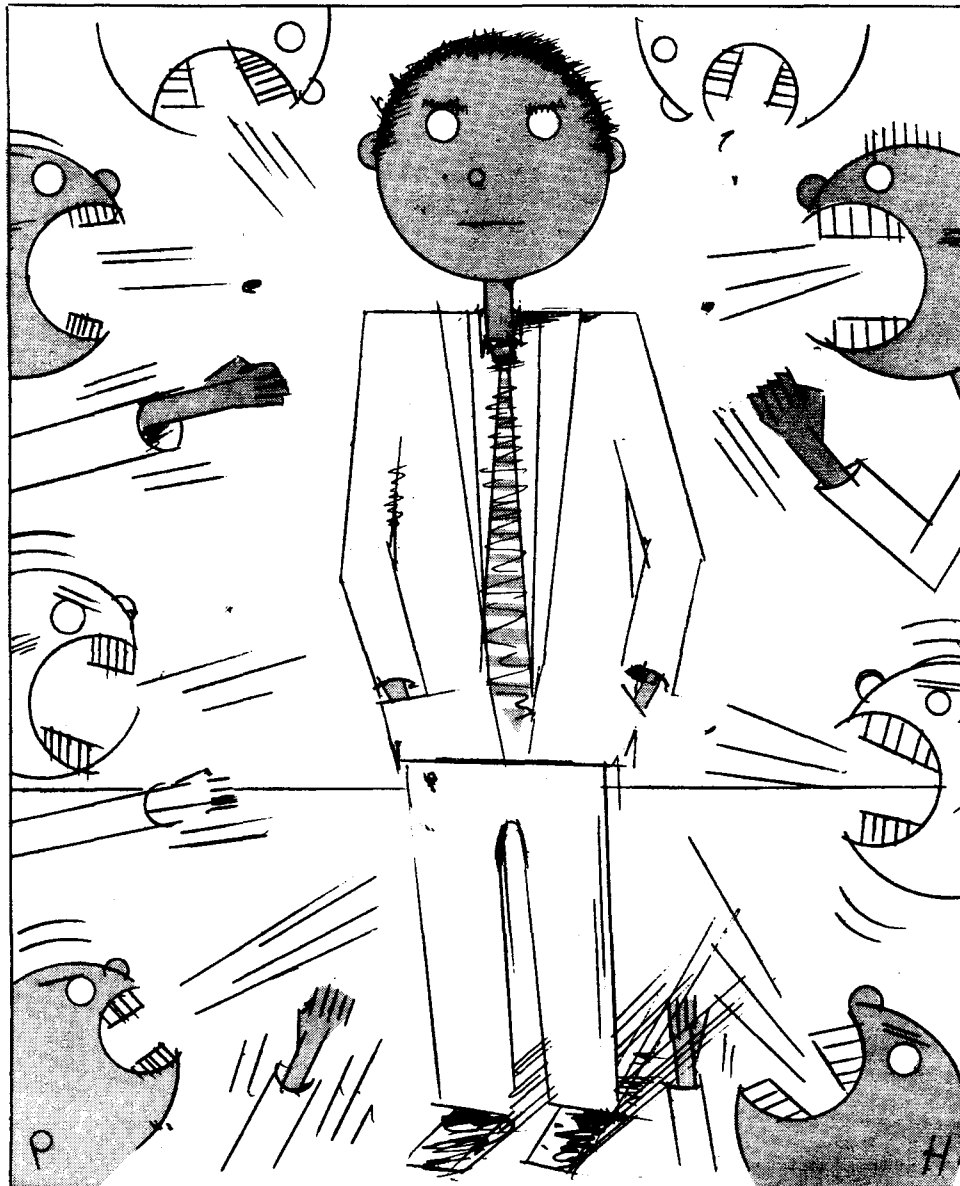
Jaffree explains that when he initially filed his moment-of-silence suit, he was strongly denounced from the black community's numerous church pulpits. Though careful to pay homage to African-Americans' religious traditions, Jaffree wonders if the black community's interests are being hampered by the predominance of Christian clergy in

leadership positions.

He's not alone. For example, the question of whether black leadership's overwhelming commitment to Christian dogma could produce a blind spot in their understanding of the need for protecting minority rights is being raised with increasing frequency by a wide range of analysts. With the national emergence of Rev. Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, a group purporting to link black—primarily religious—leadership with left/liberal white leadership, the question acquires added urgency. For instance, can homophobic preachers and advocates of gay liberation inhabit the same coalition? This is just one aspect of the issue provoked by Jaffree's speculation.

Another aspect was highlighted when *In These Times* sought comment on Hand's secular-humanism decision from Rev. Abraham Woods Jr., leader of the Alabama chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Although Woods is a seasoned veteran in the struggle for blacks' civil rights, he found nothing disturbing about Hand's order to ban selected textbooks. In fact, he demonstrated some support. "As a clergyman I certainly can't agree with any philosophy that gets rid of God," Woods said.

**Ishmael Jaffree says whites in Mobile think he's an "uppity nigger." To the black community the lawyer is a "crazy, dangerous atheist." But, as he notes with pride, "I've been a non-conformist since day one."**



**A nightmare:** Jaffree says he lived in hell for the entire year after he filed the suit. "The black community of Mobile treated me like I was a crazy, dangerous atheist," he recounts. "They simply couldn't conceive of any black person who wasn't religious, specifically Christian. I received absolutely no support whatsoever from any black civil rights group. Don't they understand that if we allow a tyranny of the majority in one area, all other minorities' rights are threatened?"

During his hellish year, he says, even his six children hated him. "They thought I was a fool to go up against such daunting opposition. For a while, they didn't even want to be seen with me." Things improved a bit when he was vindicated by the Supreme Court. "All of the media attention finally convinced them that their father wasn't just some cranky old fool."

Jaffree admits to being a chronic iconoclast. "I've been a non-conformist since day one," he notes with pride. On that day, he was in Cleveland, Ohio, and he remained in his native city until he migrated in 1977 to Alabama. He considers himself a product of the militant '60s, with all its passions and paradoxes.

"I was touched by everything that was happening in those days," he recalls. "The writings of LeRoi Jones (a.k.a. Amiri Baraka), Frantz Fanon, Claude Brown and Malcolm X were very influential in the development of my ideas, as was the example of [Rev. Martin Luther] King." He says he also became involved in the movement that in 1967 helped elect Carl Stokes the first black mayor of a major U.S. city. But Jaffree didn't squander all his energy on the frenetic activities of that era; he also managed to earn undergraduate and law degrees from Cleveland State University.

After some rough-and-tumble times in Ohio's largest city, Jaffree became disenchanted with the climate, pollution and politics of the industrial North and he began looking to the South as a way out and up. "I thought the future for black people was in the South, on the land, so I pointed myself in that direction. I eventually hooked up with the Reggie Fellowship Program, which pays attorneys to work in less accessible parts of the country, and I was sent to Alabama."

Jaffree no longer has romantic notions about blacks in the South. He says he's ready to return to the North, or perhaps go west. He counts the intellectual isolation he's suffered as his greatest loss. "I can't remember the last time I had an intellectually or politically stimulating conversation with anyone down here but my wife," he complains.

He's wrong about that, of course, although it would probably be difficult to convince him of his error. But every time the religious right attempts some legal strategy to further blur the boundary between church and state, Jaffree's reasoned voice is heard. His pitched legal skirmishes with the tendentious Judge Hand probably have stimulated more meaningful conversations about the dangers of majoritarian tyranny than years' worth of cultured debate in the top intellectual parlors. If only he could get the black community to join in the conversation....

IN THESE TIMES APRIL 29-MAY 5, 1987 7



By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

ON APRIL 10, THE VERY SAME DAY THAT Mikhail Gorbachov announced the forthcoming destruction of Soviet chemical weapons and proposed talks to eliminate short-range nuclear missiles from Europe, the French National Assembly overwhelmingly approved a huge arms procurement program that includes new chemical weapons and the short-range Hades nuclear missile.

Amid praise for the virtues of "consensus" and "cohabitation" between the conservative government that drafted the law and Socialist President Francois Mitterrand who approved it, Socialists joined the conservatives and the far-right National Front in passing the bill 536 to 35 (see accompanying story). Only the Communists voted against it.

"Our people's profound agreement on defense is an opportunity for France," said Prime Minister Jacques Chirac as he presented the new five-year military programming bill to the National Assembly. An opportunity, that is, to spend at least \$80 billion on nuclear and high-tech arms in the next five years, for an annual increase in arms spending of at least 6 percent. The French public's perceived readiness to allow mammoth military spending provides a chance to use the military sector as an economic growth leader.

The author of the Military Programming Act, Defense Minister Andre Giraud, is above all an industrial planner who as director of the Atomic Energy Commission (CEA) played a major role in developing the French nuclear industry.

In 1981 the newly-elected left government pushed through an increase in the minimum wage and other measures putting more spending money in the pockets of the less prosperous part of the population. The idea was that the spending would increase demand and thus be good for business. It increased demand, but the demand was met by foreign producers. Rising imports gave France a big trade deficit.

The big advantage of military spending is that the government can more easily make sure it goes to domestic rather than foreign producers. And it can be channelled toward new high-tech sectors.

Electronics account for 25 percent of the new arms spending. This is a sector French leaders are most anxious to develop. The model is IBM, which grew to its giant size

## One country's costly conversion from a welfare to a warfare state



FRANCE

Conservative Prime Minister Jacques Chirac joined Socialist President Francois Mitterrand (right) in the passage of a new military bill.

by feeding for many years mainly on Pentagon contracts. The biggest single beneficiary of French defense spending is the big Thomson electronics group, which is increasingly concentrating on the military sector. Electronic components will account for a third to a half the cost of the expensive new combat plane to be ordered from Dassault.

**"Carpet bombing":** The "Soviet threat" is being brandished as never before in order to sell expensive new high-tech weapons to the French people, at a time when social benefits are being steadily cut back. Gorbachov is not being helpful at all in keeping up the

credibility of the Soviet threat. In the view of French arms industry technocrat Francois Heisbourg, the director designate of the London International Institute of Strategic Studies, Soviet disarmament is just another "threat": he likened Gorbachov's proposals to "carpet bombing."

French leaders must worry that the timing may be off for their big shift from the welfare to the warfare state. Chirac warned the National Assembly of a possible new period of detente. A Soviet-American "zero option" agreement to get rid of intermediate-range missiles in Europe would have "negative and

dangerous consequences" if it should seem to set off a process of "denuclearization of Western Europe," Chirac said. French leaders are gambling that any U.S. withdrawal of missiles or other forces will instead lead Western Europe to build up its own military-industrial complex. France can certainly not sustain such an arms program unless bolstered by European NATO allies, notably West Germany.

The Soviet threat is the only one that concerns the West Germans, and is thus indispensable for any joint Franco-German arms buildup. For the French, however, it is not

### Socialist Party's backing of Military Programming bill perplexes many in party's rank and file

Socialist Party leaders have successfully avoided any public debate of the issue that has most been troubling rank-and-file Socialists: the party's unanimous vote in favor of the conservative government's Military Programming bill. In fact, there are doubts at the top as well as at the bottom of the party, but it is not in the style of French politics to discuss such delicate subjects in front of the children.

Perplexity was the mood of the party's international and military affairs commission meeting in Lille. Former Defense Minister Charles Hernu, Atlantic alliance faithful Robert Pontillon, Jacques Huntzinger, who has regularly defended French positions in the Socialist International, and Francois Londele, the only Socialist to express publicly his "regret"

at voting for the Military Programming bill, all warned each other that the "consensus" was more fragile than it looked.

Young people, they observed, are asking questions about chemical weapons, the size of the defense budget, nuclear tests in the Pacific and the promised—but never delivered—democratic reform of military service.

Everybody stressed the need to strengthen joint defense arrangements with West Germany. But how? Pontillon wondered how to respond to U.S. disengagement in Europe without raising the question of redeployment of France's overseas forces. And Huntzinger said it was necessary to think of what Britain had done when it withdrew its forces back "east of Suez." Raising such questions would mean completely re-evaluating the

French self-image, basis of the famous "consensus." Huntzinger stressed that this is a daunting task to undertake with elections coming up next year.

The Communist Party's (PCF) own special brand of demagoguery does nothing to clarify the debate. The PCF continues to combine, without a qualm, calls for disarmament with faithful support to the French arms industry as a source of "jobs" and "national independence." Having based its anti-NATO stance largely on latent anti-German feeling, the PCF has been badly placed to build real support for the nuclear disarmament movement centered in Germany.

In the National Assembly, PCF leader Georges Marchais opposed the Military Programming bill with old generalities rather than new facts, comparing the

danger of nuclear weapons to "everyone on earth sitting on three tons of TNT." Marchais pounced on the "consensus" between the right and the Socialists as confirmation of the PCF's current line that the strategy of alliance with the Socialists was a big mistake.

Marchais was suspected in some quarters of trying to pre-empt and spoil the disarmament issue in case Pierre Juquin, the party's leading "renovator" should try to break away and run with it. Formally in charge of disarmament questions for the PCF but never allowed to do much of anything, Juquin seems potentially capable of making more of the arms issue than any other prominent political figure on the French scene should he and other "renovators" strike out on their own.

-D.J.



the only "threat." French military doctrine sees "three circles" of defense: the "sanctuary" of France itself, the European alliance, and an outer circle comprising French interests all around the world, including island possessions in every ocean and client states in Africa. Chirac recalled that "Third World crises can directly or indirectly affect the essential interests of European countries. France has never lost sight of that reality, and that is why she has always made sure to provide herself with a significant capacity for acting outside Europe. There, again, our country can play a privileged role which far exceeds the defense of its own national interests." This is the rationale behind one of the most expensive items on Giraud's shopping list. The nuclear aircraft carrier "Richelieu." The Richelieu is designed to "defend national interests throughout the world" by conventional or nuclear "power projection."

**Where will the money come from?** The

Germans are extremely wary of following the French—or even the Americans—into "out of [NATO] area" operations in the Third World. Even the chairman of the Assembly's

**The big advantage of military spending is that the government can more easily make sure it goes to domestic rather than foreign producers. And it can be channelled to high-tech sectors.**

military affairs commission, Francois Fillon, a member of Chirac's party, acknowledged that "financial and economic problems" might arise making it impossible to carry

out the government's ambitious arms program. He also noted that the French five-year plan is vulnerable to technological innovations that could make certain systems obsolete before they are built. Moreover, many career officers are unhappy that the single-minded emphasis on new weapons systems means neglect of the human side of the armed services.

Socialist doubts about the program were silenced from above. The Socialist leader in the National Assembly, Pierre Joxe, whipped his party into line with the argument that Mitterrand himself had approved the program in consultations with Chirac. Mitterrand's contribution was to preserve the purity of French doctrine: priority must be given to strategic nuclear deterrence in general and nuclear submarines in particular. Short-range nuclear missiles must be considered "pre-strategic" rather than "tactical."

Alain Joxe, one of the rare independent critics of French military doctrine (and a

brother of Pierre Joxe), points out the absence of any coherent strategy to go with the weapons. The expensive Leclerc tank is being programmed because its designers like it a lot. Anti-tank weapons would make more sense for defense and cost less money. It is unclear how "pre-strategic" nuclear weapons aboard the Richelieu will keep South Pacific islanders from rebelling against French rule. And calling the Hades nuclear missile "pre-strategic" is an attempt to scurry around the fact that it does not fit in with French strategic nuclear deterrence nor with German defense plans.

Gorbachov's proposals and the lame-duck confusions of the Reagan administration are rapidly changing the world context in which the French and other Europeans must make their decisions. Unable as yet to figure out what to do, the French have evaded all the issues by simply promising to spend more than they can afford on weapons systems nobody knows what to do with. □

## French Socialist Party: a unity of silence

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**A**T ITS RECENT CONGRESS IN LILLE, THE French Socialist Party celebrated its unity. It was a unity of silence that came from suppressing debate before the congress even took place. Party leaders agreed in advance to a "resolution of synthesis" instead of debate between competing resolutions—the usual procedure at Socialist Party congresses.

The inspiring ideal uniting the party around its first secretary, Lionel Jospin, is to gather together as much of the country as possible to win next year's presidential election. The party officially agrees that Francois Mitterrand is the best candidate to achieve this ideal and hopes he will run again. But if he doesn't, the Socialist Party will unite around "the best placed candidate."

Best placed, that is, in the public opinion polls. That is the implication, and everyone knows it means Michel Rocard. This was enough reassurance to keep Rocard from splitting the party in his haste to run for president. Mitterrand is playing coy as only Mitterrand knows how. The master of ambiguity is letting his own supporters hope he will run again while letting Rocard think he will step aside and let Rocard try. If Mitterrand at the last minute decides duty calls once more, Rocard can only gnash his teeth.

There is something baffling in Rocard's durable reign at the top of the popularity polls. Perhaps citizens respond year after year to pollsters that they would like to see Rocard "play a more important role" because in fact he has never held an important office. He is much too tense to be "charismatic." But he is the great favorite of the modernizing center-left intelligentsia, including the sociologists who design the polls he keeps winning.

It is not clear that the Socialist Party could survive a Rocard candidacy. Those who consider themselves on the left, or those whose fealty is to one of the other rivals to the succession, are likely to put their ingenuity to setting traps for Rocard. Rocard cares little for the Socialist Party, or for parties in general. With Rocard as its candidate, the party's uselessness could become blatant and fatal. That is because the party would not have chosen, of its own free will, either

the candidate or his program.

**Media cooperation:** The notion that the candidate must choose his own program was behind the absence of program at Lille. But where then is policy decided? Theoretically, the concerns of grassroots movements should pressure political leaders in a party of the left. In France today, political movements are virtually dead. There is one exception: "SOS Racism," organized among young people with help from ex-Trotskyists, did encourage the Socialist Party to stand up more boldly against the anti-immigrant mood exploited by the National Front.

While pressure on political leaders from movements and the party rank and file is feeble, pressure from the media is strongly visible and audible. The success of "SOS Racism" is in good part a media success. Movements with no friends in the media, notably the anti-nuclear movement or the peace movement, have not gotten off the ground.

A blatant example of media pressure was provided by the daily *Liberation* in two consecutive front-page features on the eve of the Socialist Party congress in Lille. The first was a poll showing that most Socialist voters wanted the party to ally with "the center." The second was a poll showing that most Socialist Party leaders, poor old fogies, were still nostalgic for "the left."

*Liberation* made it clear that to be in tune with the times, the Socialist Party must try to form the next government with "the center."

In the Socialist Party itself, "left" means mainly fidelity to alliance with the Communist Party, rather than specific positions on specific issues.

But alliance is a moot point, so long as the Communist Party is off by itself sulking, hostile to left unity and so weak it can no longer fill out a majority. As for the "center," this is a hypothetical fragment of the right that has yet to break away and seek coalition with the Socialists. The question of alliances is for the moment a substitute for defining a program on the issues.

Rocard's rival "baron" in the Socialist Party's endless "war of the roses," Jean-Pierre Chevenement, openly objected to letting the polls rather than the party choose the candidate. Unlike Rocard, Chevenement is a party man, but his own rapid shift to the right has done nothing to clarify political debate in the party. As head of the Center for Socialist Study, Research and Education (CERES), Chevenement was the baron of the left current. As minister of education, Chevenement suddenly achieved a new popularity by giving vent to the patriotic values of his boyhood, exhorting school children to learn all the words of the national anthem and so on. The conservative media responded by vastly improving his public image.

Chevenement began to explore "modern republicanism." CERES was dissolved and replaced by "Socialism and Republic," losing

most of its rank-and-file members along the way. The left inside the Socialist Party was orphaned.

The Socialist Party prides itself on allowing democratic debate to flourish between various "currents," in contrast to the Communist Party that bans "factionalism." But the currents in the Socialist Party are now no more than the fossils of the political debates of a decade ago. They have been made official and used as a system for apportioning party functions. Since they no longer correspond to real issues, the institutionalized "currents" serve to stifle rather than to stimulate debate.

In particular, refugees from CERES and new members feel unrepresented by the "currents" who together agreed on the "synthesis."

**Baronies of rhetoric:** Obsession with tactics leads to excessive personalization of politics. The collection of rival "barons" is characteristic of all French political parties except the Communists. A strong women's movement might have attacked this political culture, but there has never been a strong women's movement in France and certainly not in the Socialist Party, where the small number of women in responsible positions has actually declined in recent years. The French Socialist Party is essentially a party of relatively high-salaried male professionals who love to argue politics.

The collapse of the Communist Party has relieved Socialist leaders of any need to give serious answers to questions from the left. The left is perceived by Socialist leaders as a barren landscape where lost souls wander in search of a drop of rhetoric to revive their parched "dreams." Former Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, a leading young baron, said the task of Socialists was to reconcile "the indispensable mastery of the real" with the "splendid diamond of dream."

At the end of three days of such abstract declarations, Socialist leaders in Lille all stood up, roses clutched in their fists to sing the "Internationale." This daring innovation was meant to stir the famous "dreams" of the "people of the left" into imagining that the Socialist Party is really "more firmly anchored on the left than ever."

It is obvious that the Socialist Party is staying verbally "on the left" to pick up the maximum number of left votes in the 1988 elections before seeking some "center" to deal with. Whether or not the French left is still dreaming is hard to tell. But it certainly seems fast asleep. □

IN THESE TIMES APRIL 29-MAY 5, 1987 9

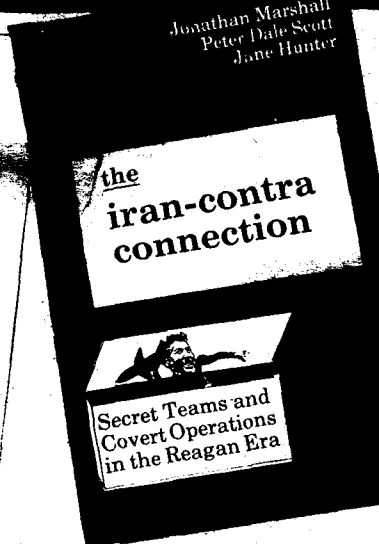
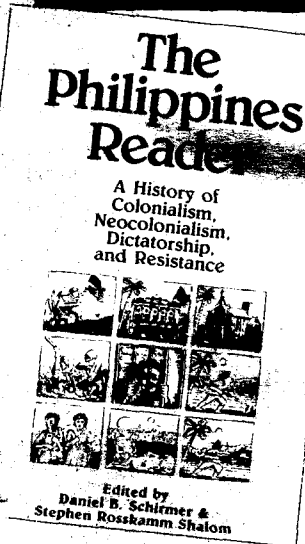
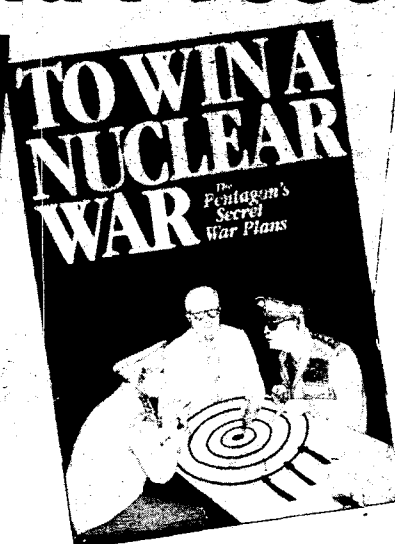
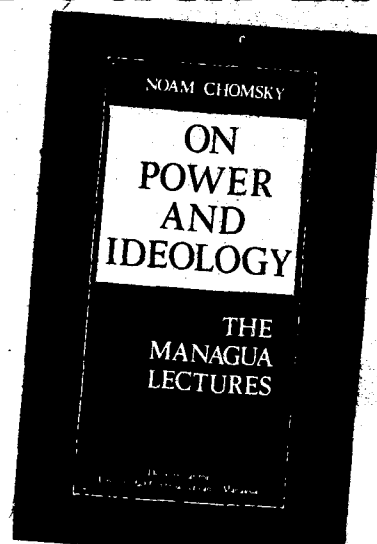


Michel Rocard is a popular Socialist politician, but has never held an important office.

Lionel Delvingne



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By Scott Holmquist

SANTIAGO, CHILE

**A** LONG SNAKING PAPAL ROUTES IN EARLY April giddy crowds invariably booed police escorts until the Mercedes-Benz truck carrying Pope John Paul II came into view. Then they went wild cheering in Chile's largest free public gathering in 13 years.

At Santiago's National Stadium 90,000 youths jumped up and down and chanted opposition slogans, while rehearsing chants to welcome the pontiff. (In the same stadium three weeks earlier TV preacher Jimmy Swaggart praised Gen. Augusto Pinochet's work against communism and prayed for the dictator before crowds of born-again Chileans.) In opening remarks the pope acknowledged previous "sad events," referring to the stadium's use as a concentration camp where thousands were detained and hundreds executed during the 1973 coup that brought Pinochet to power.

**Transition and terror:** Chile is under "a dictatorship in transition," said the pope to journalists riding in his jet on his 32nd tour. This seems true. "Security forces have increased their use of torture, political killings and detention in 1986," said German Molina, secretary-general of the Chilean Commission on Human Rights in an interview following the pope's visit.

But at the same time, the government is allowing moderate journalists and politicians greater freedom. Thousands of select exiles can now return and non-Marxist-Leninist political parties are legal. And, at last, after nearly 14 years of an ostensibly laissez-faire dictatorship, Pinochet's government is frantically selling off all state businesses, except its bank.

These actions, especially the privatization, are consolidating political and economic power with friends of the Pinochet regime. They also weaken any future government's ability to make policy, according to leading opposition economist Sergio Bitar. Opposition leaders take these as strong signs Pinochet will permit some democratic participation in government after the 1989 plebiscite.

The pope is the first non-military head of state to meet with Pinochet. By dressing up Chile for the scrutiny of international press, and posing with the Holy Father, Pinochet might have gained legitimacy that has eluded his regime.

Photo-opportunity cosmetics included road repairs and new paint along papal routes. Moderate Christian Democrats were allowed to start up an opposition daily newspaper, *La Epoca*. And police began using some degree of restraint when breaking up daily protests, according to veteran press members here.

**Whose messenger?** "Messenger of Peace" was the government slogan for the pope's visit; "Messenger of Life," the Catholic Church's. Church spokesmen, wishing to focus on human-rights issues, complained about the government slogan, which was displayed on giant banners that outsized and outnumbered their own.

In a peacemaker role that no doubt pleased the government, the pope met with leaders of all political parties, persuading them to sign a transition accord. In it they agreed to reject violence as a method for resolving conflicts, be ethical in inter-party relations and respect the Christian majority while working for democracy.

The day before they signed the accord, security forces shot to death 26-year-old Erik

# Pope in transit; dictator 'in transition'



CHILE

Pope John Paul II and Gen. Augusto Pinochet: some critics say the pontiff did not say enough about torture in Chile.

Patricio Juica and wounded at least two others while removing squatters from vacant land outside Santiago. Juica had been a leader in the squatter movement.

A day after the accord's signing a battle broke out at a Santiago park between police and demonstrators in a crowd of more than one million. It started less than 200 yards from the pope.

Thousands of people scattered as tear-gas

puffing jeeps and water cannon trucks swerved through the crowd, putting out fires and dispersing protesters. Clouds of tear gas drifted over dozens of bishops and priests seated at the foot of the pope's open-air stage. After press buses left the park police opened fire on crowds, wounding a Chilean photographer, Maria Olga Allemand.

Later, upon the pope's departure, attacks on the foreign press increased. The home of

UPI correspondent Anthony Boodle was broken into and his computer and computer disks stolen. Valuables were left untouched. A West German photographer was beaten and arrested by plain-clothes police for photographing unlicensed street vendors. During the pope's visit, three Vatican correspondents and journalists from the Colombian periodical *Caracol* were reportedly attacked in similar incidents.

Reacting to what the government called slanted foreign press coverage, government communications official Ivan Cordova announced government plans to further restrict foreign journalists. The government is also considering toughening accreditation procedures to keep government critics out of the country and restricting travel within Santiago.

**Ripples of doubt:** Now, with the pope gone more than three weeks, ripples are appearing in the ocean of approval he has received from every political corner. Some opposition spokesmen are now criticizing the pontiff for being vague on torture and political detention in Chile, and then attacking liberal abortion and divorce laws in Argentina. Others have condemned his private meeting with Pinochet.

But these ripples of open criticism and dissatisfaction are exceptions. Chile is deeply Catholic. Every political actor wants to be favorably associated with the pope. When the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, armed wing of the Chilean Communist Party, took over nine radio stations and Associated Press offices April 13 to announce the end of its "papal visit cease-fire," most of its message praised the pope and the Catholic Church.

Observers here expect brutal police repression of this year's May Day demonstrations. According to a Chilean journalist, "During the pope's visit a lot of police got hurt and couldn't react as usual. Normally, when some get hurt, the others go for blood. Now they can."

Chile may be, as Pope John Paul II said, "a dictatorship in transition." But if it is, it's on the dictator's terms. □

Scott Holmquist is a Washington, D.C.-based writer who recently visited Chile with an independent news and documentary video production group.

## Labor of liberation: union coalition challenges Pinochet

When Chilean labor leader Rodolfo Seguel left his small office just before noon on March 25 he knew he would be arrested. But he did not expect the mace he and members of the press got during his statement before demonstrations broken up by police that day around the country. In Santiago, Seguel and at least 50 others were arrested.

Seguel, who in 1983 led a copper workers' strike and accompanying national protests, is president of the National Labor Coordinating Committee (CNT) which organized the March 25 demonstrations. The CNT—formed in 1983 by leaders of Chile's five largest unions—is the largest organization actively opposing Gen. Augusto Pinochet's military government.

As a political voice for the country's labor movement, CNT organizes protests and works to free and protect labor leaders and organizers who are jailed and harassed. It is not affiliated with any poli-

tical party, a Chilean labor movement tradition. But consistent with another tradition, union leadership is dominated by Left Christian Democrats, socialists and Communists.

Total membership in Chilean unions, which rose for two years after the 1973 coup, has dropped off 60 percent since 1977, thanks to a world recession and 1979 labor legislation gutting the right to strike. Before the coup, in three years of President Salvador Allende's elected socialist government, union membership jumped 50 percent.

Timed exactly one week before Pope John Paul II's arrival, the May 25 national "day of mobilization for workers" was part of a recent wave of protest across Chile. The papal visit accelerated efforts by labor and other opposition leaders to pressure Pinochet to restore civil liberties and hold open elections before the 1989 plebiscite scheduled by decree in

the 1980 constitution.

The 1979 papal visit to Poland touched off reactions that helped produce Eastern Europe's first independent trade union, Solidarity. Comparing those events to the pope's visit here, CNT legal counsel Jorge Donoso told *In These Times*, "The Holy Father's many statements and private meetings with labor leaders have certainly invigorated and raised spirits, but we expect...that any public opposition to the regime in the near future will be severely repressed."

"Today in Chile we face the possibility of a social explosion. Rapid and long-term deterioration in working people's living standards has produced unprecedented tensions," said Donoso. "With the pope's visit, for the first time in 13 years working people's problems have been acknowledged publicly, on Chilean television, during the pope's mass for the Pobladores [shum dwellers]."

—S.H.



By Pat Aufderheide

WASHINGTON, D.C.

**S**IX YEARS AFTER MARK FOWLER ARRIVED TO head the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), trumpeting his mission to create "an unregulated competitive communications environment," he conducted his 201st and final public meeting.

Ironically for the first Great Deregulator, the centerpiece of the affair was censorship. Fowler's parting shot was a redefinition of the FCC's rules on indecent speech. Now, indecency will be defined as material describing "sexual or excretory activities or organs," measured by "contemporary community standards for the broadcast medium."

The immediate effect was a warning to Los Angeles' Pacifica public radio station, KPDK, for having aired references to a gay sexual encounter; to Philadelphia station WYSP for airing Howard Stern's radio rants; and to University of California public station KCSB in Santa Barbara, for mentioning sexual organs.

Fowler, a self-styled champion of First Amendment rights for broadcasters, draws the line at filth—at least as it applies to the lower body parts. But already "community standards" appears to be in the eye of the regulator. Only one of the three complaints about the Philadelphia programming came from a community resident. The other two came from Rev. Don Wildmon, head of the conservative National Federation for Decency, in Tupelo, Miss. Whose community standards are they, anyway, if only one local complaint triggers governmental penalties?

The choice of victims for the FCC's new clean-up crusade on the airwaves raises further concern. Public interest lawyer Robert Perry, who during a trade convention attended a broadcast of Joan Rivers' *Late Show* with Fowler's designated successor Dennis Patrick, wonders—with tongue only partly in cheek—if the new porn-consciousness will extend to mainstream entertainment. Patrick, he notes, apparently not only did not flinch but enjoyed Joan Rivers' comparison of the size of secondary sexual organs (in this case, breasts) among her guests. Meanwhile, the body social is a different question. When a Washington, D.C., broadcaster recently made an openly racist remark on the air and widespread controversy resulted, the FCC stood firm on its hands-off-free-speech policy.

Announcing his new indecency standard, Fowler justified it by rhetorically asking broadcasters, "Is this [indecency] the best

# MADMAN MARK FOWLER'S FINAL FROWN

use of broadcasting? Is this the legacy you want to preserve, foster and bequeath?"

**Public interest—a dirty word:** It's late in the day for Fowler to become an advocate of content regulation in broadcasting. In fact, the indecency ruling appears directly related not to concern for community standards but to right-wing pressure; many see it as Patrick's payoff to the right for the chance to succeed Fowler. A look at Fowler's rhetoric over his tenure reveals the irony of this last-gasp censorship ruling. Although FCC's rules have historically functioned to let broadcasters define the way they fulfill their public interest responsibilities (since they hold a monopoly on a scarce public resource, the broadcast spectrum), Fowler's whipping boy over the last six years has been government "censorship" through the network of public interest provisions.

The public interest was a virtual dirty word for Fowler. "The public interest is what the public is interested in," he was wont to say. He equated the public with the audience (except when audiences flocked to "raunch radio" like Howard Stern's popular Philadelphia broadcasts). He also abhorred the phrase "public trusteeship" even though it's the keystone of the 1934 Communications Act governing the FCC's work. For Fowler, TV and radio were businesses like any others; the TV was just a "toaster with pictures," and broadcasts should be accountable only to "the market."

Under that logic, Fowler's FCC extended license periods, so that broadcasters come under scrutiny for their community responsibility less often. It released broadcasters from their obligation to keep daily records of their public affairs programming. (That decision was challenged successfully in court; now broadcasters must at least make a quarterly list of their most significant community programming.) It encouraged broadcasters to regard the minimum in affirmative action as a maximum; it even attempted, abortively, to eliminate its own Equal Employment Opportunity enforcement division.

It dropped the rule requiring broadcast owners to hold their stations for three years (and thus invest in their community property). That put radio and TV stations into the hands of traders rather than broadcasters. The resulting debtload under which managers staggered made for the savaging of news and public-affairs budgets.

The bold assault on trusteeship alarmed some of broadcasting's old guard. Former CBS News President Fred Friendly, watching the dismantling of a tradition he'd shaped, was moved to say, "In my day, my bosses fought the FCC. It turns out the FCC was the best friend they ever had. It kept them honest. It gave them a conscience.... Now there's

no reason to do their best."

At the March National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) meeting (where broadcasters, bruised by the merger-and-takeover fallout from deregulation, looked somewhat askance at their one-time hero) Fowler made a final plea for broadcasters to carry forward his campaign to end their trusteeship burden. Calling for a "free system of broadcasting," he called trusteeship "a stick that can beat your editorial freedom to a meaty pulp and run you out of business."

**Freedom from fairness:** Nothing better demonstrates the danger in arbitrary use of government power over broadcasting than the indecency decision. But that's not what Fowler was talking about. The target for his free-the-broadcasters campaign has been, over six long years, the Fairness Doctrine.

The Fairness Doctrine, which requires that broadcasters air controversial issues fairly, is far from content regulation. In fact, it places the burden of defining and determining controversy and fairness on broadcasters and the public, and for decades has rarely resulted in government intervention to enforce it. Meanwhile, it has provided leverage

When "public-interest" becomes a dirty word, dirty words are in the public interest.

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for community groups to get in the door at radio and TV stations. And as political and advocacy ads have become more common, it has provided balance to the persuasive power of money.

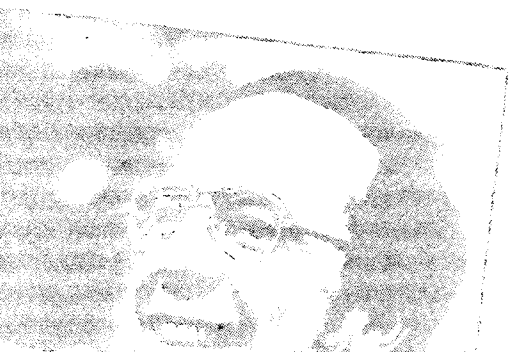
But one of Fowler's most highly publicized crusades was the push to declare the Doctrine unconstitutional. A 1985 FCC inquiry recommended abolishing it and Fowler has been widely supported not only by the broadcasting industry but by the newspaper industry. After all, many newspaper owners also hold broadcast properties.

It took days for the prestige dailies to take editorial notice of the FCC indecency decision. Quicker to catch the implications was Andrew J. Schwartzman, who as head of the public interest law firm Media Access Project regularly tracks incidents where pluralism is tested the hard way. "It's an ironic legacy, for Fowler to endorse censorship after assaulting the Fairness Doctrine, which promotes discussion of issues and ideas," he said.

**Dereg, rereg:** Like any good showman—and Fowler is proud of his background in broadcasting, as a d.j. whose moniker was "Madman Mark"—at his final meeting Fowler saved the sex till last. The long windup put the finishing touches on policies that have defined his tenure. The orders Fowler proudly approved that morning showed as graphically as the indecency ruling that his ideological crusade has been waged in the interests of the market, not the public. Fowler's era has not in fact been deregulatory in any simple way, but a rape of public interest priorities and safeguards.

The major item in telephone issues on the April 16 agenda demonstrated how Fowler's FCC has freely used the power of the state to re-regulate. The FCC approved raising local phone bills another \$1.50 per month through subscriber line charges, which already put \$2 on a person's local bill. The charges that long-distance companies once paid have been shifted to local ratepayers—especially small users.

This policy, which has raised local bills in other ways as well, has already resulted in a 40 percent rise in local phone charges. Meanwhile, most small users don't make



enough long distance calls to offset the rise in local costs (18 percent of all AT&T's long distance residential customers don't make even one long-distance phone call over a six-month period!). The growth in households with phones has slowed to a virtual standstill. In the state of Mississippi—where one in five households does not have a phone—the growth rate has been negative.

"This may be the most important decision the FCC makes," said Commissioner Mimi Dawson at Fowler's last meeting, and Fowler heartily endorsed that statement. The decision's many critics, including most public interest advocates, would agree.

Fowler calls his phone pricing deregulation "Back to the Future," seeing that the shifting of basic costs of the phone network to the large number of small local users would foster large corporate use and open

the door to a boom in telecommunications services. Once fixed costs are firmly stuck on to individual ratepayers, Fowler's argument goes, we can go "back" to less rate regulation and "to the future" with the information revolution. The phone companies have pressured heavily for this shift, preferring to stiff local ratepayers rather than be bound to regulated costs in their lucrative corporate accounts. And long-distance companies, of course, support the argument that their payments to local phone companies are just a "subsidy," not a reflection of the local network's value to their business.

Both the local and long-distance companies talk ominously about the threat of "bypass," or large users developing their own telephone systems, even though more than 90 percent of the largest users at some point in a transmission have to go through the local network. The FCC (and it's not alone among government agencies in this) listens to the rhetoric, simply deciding not to look at the huge profits local phone companies have made over the last three years, which reflect no bypass "damage."

What Fowler calls "Back to the Future" has also been called (by the Texas Public Utilities Commission) "the Marie Antoinette School of Rate Design, or Let Them Make Toll Calls If They Can't Afford Local Service." Either way, it's policy that not only puts large corporate interest first but also lets it set the telecommunications agenda.

**Equality for whom?** Fowler's FCC was as sensitive to the constitutional threat of affirmative action as it was toward the menace to free speech of the Fairness Doctrine. Still pending is a decision on whether the granting of preferences for minorities and women in station licenses is unconstitutional.

The Fowler FCC has a dismal record of enforcing existing Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) provisions. Its February study shows that while women have made minuscule gains over the last four years minorities have actually lost ground in relation to their presence in the workforce. A 1980 FCC study, reinforced by an independent study in 1986, showed that networks—heretofore not subject to FCC scrutiny—have a far worse EEO record than stations. Public interest groups have petitioned the FCC to improve its scope and enforcement of broadcast EEO.

On April 16 the FCC denied that petition.

But surprisingly—thanks in part to pressure from Hispanic Commissioner Patricia Diaz Dennis—it also mandated improved forms that require broadcasters to describe their affirmative action policies. Now TV network headquarters must at least file those forms for employees who work for network owned and operated stations.

Fowler's farewell didn't end with the meeting, however. His goodbye party that afternoon was a testament to the fact that, even though Fowler raised plenty of hackles among powerful interests, he still has friends among the rich and powerful. Media magnate Rupert Murdoch and Motion Picture Association of America President Jack Valenti were only two of the luminaries gracing the bash at a nearby nightclub. Had a bomb landed on the roof of the club it would have obliterated much of the legal talent in telecommunications law (a field that has bloomed with "deregulation" and its ambiguities).

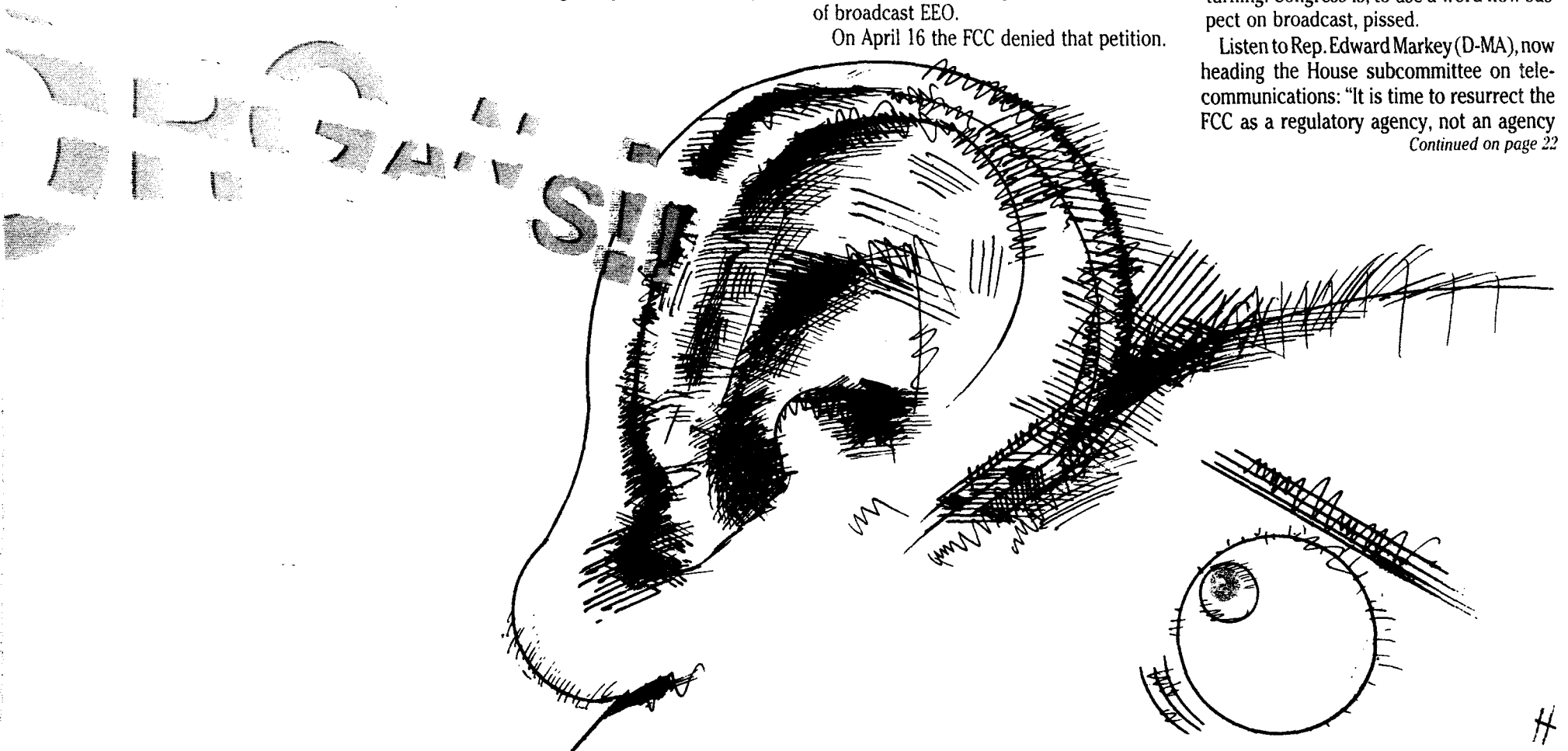
A lavish spread and a video "roast" entertained the horde of well-wishers. The video, hosted by the videogenic Commissioner Patrick, was an eloquent testimony to the world view of the Fowler era. The theme was "Star Wars," with Fowler as Luke Skywalker, the Carter era as the Evil Empire pro-tem, and Reagan as Obi Ron Kenobi (Ron represented by the poster of Reagan in a Rambo pose). It ended with a shot of the Soviet Politburo comparing America's problems with "freedom of speech" and the Soviet Union's problems of "freedom after speech." There were no references to excretory functions or sexual organs in the video.

In the round of self-congratulation that began Fowler's busy last day of work, his designated successor, Dennis Patrick, called him "the most important person in the history of the commission." Allowing for farewell hyperbole, Patrick's statement is a stark reminder that the Fowler years wreaked havoc on fundamental public interest mechanisms in the nation's communications networks. Perhaps more important is the damage done to the notion that in a democratic society where large corporations control telecommunications, the public requires a balancing force to the weight of the bottom line.

**Backlash:** But it may be that the tide is turning. Congress is, to use a word now suspect on broadcast, pissed.

Listen to Rep. Edward Markey (D-MA), now heading the House subcommittee on telecommunications: "It is time to resurrect the FCC as a regulatory agency, not an agency

*Continued on page 22*





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Miles DeCoster

## Government bias and the need for a new politics

Government indifference to the public welfare and bias in favor of corporate interests was highlighted last week in three developments, one regarding nuclear weapons tests in Nevada, another about illness from the use of Agent Orange in Vietnam and the third concerning safety of nuclear power plants.

In the first case, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 10th circuit overturned a federal judge's ruling that government negligence in above-ground nuclear weapons tests from 1951 to 1962 caused cancer in residents downwind from the Nevada test site. The court found that the Federal Tort Claims Act, which allows citizens to sue the government for negligence, did not apply in this case. But former Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, one of the victims' attorneys, charged that courts "all over the country seem to be repealing" the Torts Act in favor of "the king can do no wrong." This is a sad, sad turn of events," Udall said.

One plaintiff put it in a larger and more meaningful context. The trial court had found that her 13-year-old son's death from cancer was caused by fallout from the nuclear tests and had awarded her compensation. After this was thrown out on appeal, she lamented that she had not "got one penny and probably never will.... We can take care of the whole world," she said, "give millions to the contras—but not one penny for the kids down here who died."

In the Agent Orange case, the court upheld settlements of some 250,000 claims filed by Vietnam War veterans injured when that herbicide was used to defoliate large areas of Vietnam where guerrilla forces were hiding. The lawsuits against Dow Chemical Company, Monsanto Company and five other Agent Orange manufacturers could have run into billions of dollars. Yet it was settled for some \$200 million because the plaintiffs realized that their chances of winning were slim, while the companies realized that they might well have spent as much for attorneys' fees alone, even if they won all the cases.

The decisions of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New York mean that some 20,000 totally disabled veterans will receive \$12,000 each; whatever is left over will be divided among the remaining 230,000 vets injured when they were exposed to Agent Orange. "The size of the settlement seems extraordinary," said Justice Ralph K. Winter, who wrote the main decision. But he described the settlement as "essentially a payment of nuisance value," arguing that various studies "offer little scientific basis for believing that Agent Orange caused injury."

All in all, it was a grudging agreement to a paltry settlement, one that offers about one year's poverty income to those totally disabled and virtually nothing to others whose injuries were less severe. The chemical companies have already contributed to a \$180 million fund that has grown to about \$220 million, but the judge, while dismissing the veterans' claims against the government, indicated he didn't like the idea of holding chemical companies liable for selling a product the army ordered for use in a war. In short, the court's sympathies were with the giant corporations that profited from the war, not with the men who were forced to fight it and whose lives have been destroyed by it.

In the case of the NRC, two members of Congress, Sen. John Glenn (D-OH) and Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-MA), severely criticized the Reagan-appointed managers. Glenn called for the resignation of one of the five commissioners, while Markey asked the head of the

agency's staff to remove himself from proceedings of a controversial regulatory dispute. Both demands stem from the NRC commissioners' bias in favor of the nuclear power industry and their public-be-damned attitudes toward safety. This has included coaching companies on how to overcome problems and passing on documents on flaws in a nuclear power plant to a company to help it cope with a commission investigation.

In this case at least, some Congress members are speaking up for the public and against corporate interests. Their demands reflect a growing popular awareness of government bias in favor of big business and its increasingly callous disregard of public needs and safety.

One straw in the wind in this regard has been the increasingly friendly response in Iowa to the Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaigning for the 1988 presidential nomination. "I haven't seen anyone come into Iowa with a message as appealing as his," says the editor of the *Des Moines Register*. "When he asks why the government can bail out Chrysler and Continental Illinois but can't save a farmer from foreclosure—that's a question that plays on Main Street," he added. And it's one Jackson asks everywhere—now bolstered by scathing references to the \$23 million paid to Lee Iacocca last year by a Chrysler Corporation rescued by taxpayers' money and the sacrifices in wages and working conditions by its workers, thousands of whom have been permanently laid off.

The question of who the government represents, of what our social priorities as a nation should be, could prove a major theme in the coming elections. Jackson will certainly play on this theme, and Democratic presidential candidate Paul Simon may give it some attention. If so, we could see a revival in political interest among working Americans.

## Gorbachov comes to terms with new reality

Until the early '60s the world Communist movement was seen—and saw itself—as a monolith. Not only were the Communist-ruled nations expected to follow unquestioningly the theoretical and practical dictates of the Soviet Communist Party, but all Communist parties, East and West—excepting only the renegades of Yugoslavia—talked and usually acted as if the Soviet model were "the sole correct path for mankind," as Italy's Palmiro Togliatti said in the early '50s. His view was supported by Soviet tanks in Poland and Hungary when the people of those nations attempted to seek their own paths to socialism, while in the West, in order to keep their franchises, Communist parties willingly, even doggedly, followed the Moscow line.

The first unsealable crack in the monolith occurred when China rejected the Soviet lead and struck out on its own in the early '60s. From then on, as Maoism became a force in the world—however briefly—things would never again be the same. Since then, both in the East, where forces for change have attempted in various ways to move away from the Soviet model, and in the West, where Communist parties experimented with Eurocommunism in the '70s and experienced a general decline in the '80s, the Communist movement worldwide has become increasingly diverse.

But it has taken the Soviet party a long time to acknowledge these changes. Like the Cold Warriors in the West who have a vested interest in the idea of an Evil Empire centered in Moscow and dictating to puppet parties around the globe, so the leaders of the Soviet Union have tried to hold onto their position of pre-eminence—with force if necessary, as was demonstrated in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland in 1981-82.

Now, however, Mikhail Gorbachov has given official recognition to the facts of life. "We are far from calling on anyone to copy us," he said on his April 10 visit to Prague. Every Communist country, he added, "has its specific features, and the fraternal parties determine their political line with a view to the national conditions." This means, he said, that "no one is entitled to claim a special status in the socialist world. The independence of every party, its responsibility toward its people, the right to the sovereign solution of problems of the country's development—these are unconditional principles for us."

It is, of course, too early to say just what this actually will mean. If, for example, there should be a revival of the Solidarity movement in Poland would the Soviets now allow a true sharing of power? They will if Gorbachov means what he says and if he has the backing of his party's leadership. In any case, this statement of Soviet policy represents a fundamental change in attitude toward its Eastern European satellites and can only hasten the process of genuine independence.



By Ammiel Alcalay

**M**ORE OFTEN THAN NOT, THE TERMS IN which the Arab-Israeli conflict are presented perpetuate biases that constitute part of the conflict. One of the terms, Sephardic or Oriental Jewry, has appeared with increasing frequency in recent years, often amid heated debate. The common assumption is that Jews from Arab countries harbor deep-seated hostility toward Arabs, take a much harder anti-Arab stand than Ashkenazi or "European" Israelis, and that they may even constitute a major stumbling block to peace initiatives. These attitudes, bandied about so easily, appear to have crystallized in the voting patterns that brought the Likud to power in 1977.

Ironically, this shift in voting was not accepted as a decision by part of the population to exert their democratic will and express dissatisfaction with previous governments. Instead, it seems to many a confirmation of their worst fears: that the "Orientals" were emotional, prone to mob rule and the endearment of patriarchal figures, that they had no traditions of democracy and—worst of all, in terms of liberal sentiment—that their "true hatred" of the Arabs would now have a chance to flourish. Yet more acute political analysts pointed to the Likud's new constituency more as a rejection of the Labor Party, stemming from resentment of their exclusion from it than as support of Likud policies.

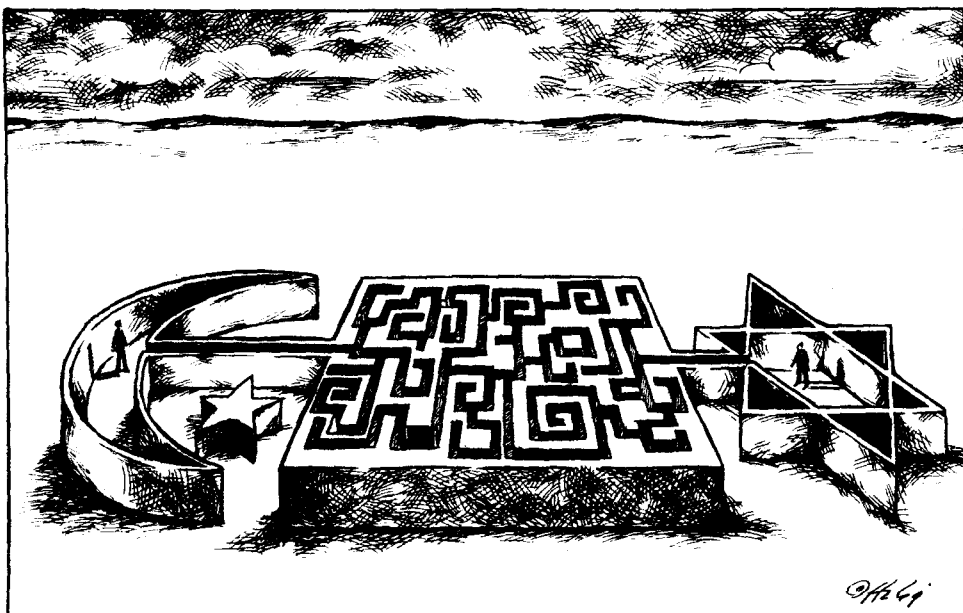
In general, studies of Sephardic Jews have continued to employ Euro-centric models that are inadequate and incapable of conveying the Sephardic experience. Furthermore, few studies have grasped the significance of the native culture of the Sephardim within the Mediterranean and Arab worlds as a key to the history of the region, or the development of alternative cultural, social, political and intercommunal models for the future. One of the aims of the study "The Sephardic Community and the Peace Process," which was initiated in 1984 by the Institute for Middle East Peace and Development at the City University of New York, was to lay the groundwork for a more comprehensive view of the context of Oriental Jewry, in both Israel and the region.

To achieve this, a substantially different approach than that of standard survey polls had to be devised, one that could take into account both the history and diversity of the Jewish communities in the region and the fact that Sephardic Jews had been active and vital participants in most, if not all, facets of life in each of the countries they had lived in. At the same time, the study aimed to record the process of changing assumptions regarding how Sephardim were viewed and depicted, and to trace the development of alternatives currently emerging from the Sephardic community.

After preliminary testing and research it became clear that the Arab-Israeli conflict could not be separated from related feelings about Arabs, life in Israel and each respondent's personal and communal past.

**Shortsighted:** Since the loss of Arabic as a native language among Jews must be considered one of the most astonishingly short-sighted and damaging effects of the mass socialization process undergone by Jews from Arab countries upon their arrival in Israel, a decision was made to seek as high a percentage of respondents as possible

## Israel's Sephardic Jews do not fit their zealously anti-Arab stereotype



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whose first language had been Arabic. Thus, the first question was simply: What is your native tongue?

This was followed by such questions as: Do you prefer to speak Arabic, how do you feel when you speak it, did you teach it to your children?

From here, questions led to life in the country of origin: Where are you from, what kind of neighborhood did you live in, what did you or your parents do there, what were relations with Arabs like?

In the second section, covering the transitional years, questions were again asked about relations with Arabs: Were there relations? If so, were they different than they were in the country of origin? What kinds of feelings did this arouse?

The third section, straightforward political questions, put the respondent firmly in the driver's seat, for by this point in the interview people had already said so much about their past that they felt comfortable enough to know they were being listened to and taken seriously. Again, the study did not impose a particular structure and measure its statistical outcome, but assumed that what a respondent had to say was of value.

Since a number of interviews were done within families, all responses were cross-checked from an intergenerational point of view. For example, if someone was too young to remember something specific from his country of origin, he was asked to relate a story or incident told by his parents that seemed symbolic of life in that country.

Older people were also asked how they thought their children might respond, and vice versa.

From more than 600 pages of transcribed interviews, a few broad generalizations can be made. First, the more knowledgeable a person is about his past, the more confident he is that compromise solutions are possible. This knowledge is acquired within the family and filters into the educational sys-

**Those who are most knowledgeable about their past in Arab nations are also the most likely to believe compromise solutions are possible.**

tem, the surrounding culture and society in general. The primary conflict here is between home and the world outside.

**Surprising results:** Contrary to what some other studies have asserted, this research did not find even one case of parents who were more right-wing than their children who were born and educated in Israel. This seems to stem from the younger generation's insecure identity and ambivalence about their place in Israeli society, which leads to a tendency to overcompensate, to be more Israeli than the Israelis.

Once this younger generation perceives

that hostility toward Arabs is not only condoned but may, in fact, serve as a kind of entrance ticket to the mainstream, they use their vague and incomplete picture of their family's past along with their resentment of Ashkenazim as a positive experience, to assert that they really know "how it is with the Arabs."

Rather than proving that such attitudes are handed down from one generation to the next within the family, the trends recorded in this research seem to prove the exact opposite: that people mold one aspect of an imperfectly grasped past experience in order to make positive assertions regarding their own status within stereotypes and biases of the society at large. This also is a more psychologically accurate assessment of the way people use their past in situations of stress.

This younger generation—estranged, culturally dispossessed and still unable to claim its fair share within Israel—remains a potentially volatile element whose rage and alienation often lie just below the surface. Such things as "education by democracy," for example, can only be received with cynicism by people who feel victimized by an unjust opportunity structure. As a Moroccan-born respondent commented:

*First of all, as an educator, I would clean up the educational system. For example, this year was declared 'the year of democracy' in the educational system. I come to schools to talk about democracy, and I talk about the Arabs, but how can I speak with the students when the teachers themselves are poisoned? Because of my experience, I would start the educational system from scratch. I would see who is suited to be an educator and who is not. I wouldn't say a 'teacher,' but an 'educator' who doesn't drip poison into the souls of the students.*

**Honest emotions:** The most striking aspect of the way people who were born in Arab countries speak about Arabs is in the range of emotions they allow themselves to display: from suspicion and anger to respect, envy, true feelings of loss and an extremely deep sense of commonality. It is more significant that none of these feelings are masks for ideology. In fact, it became increasingly clear throughout the research that while differences might make communication more difficult or artificial between Arabs and

*Continued on following page*

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

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Continued from preceding page

Ashkenazim, it was the similarities between Orientals and Arabs that could create tension as well as common ground. As one respondent put it:

*I've worked with different groups—Ashkenazi, Oriental and Arab. You hear the Orientals say terrible words, 'fascists,' and so on. And you see the Peace Now people in the evening, they sit separately and the Arabs sit separately. But the Oriental guy who said that he could kill Arabs sits together with them at night and sings 'til two in the morning.*

When asked about encounters with Arabs at the factory he was working in, another respondent said:

*I related to them like equals—I mean, if someone made a mistake or something, I would call him a name. I related to them normally, the way I would relate to anyone else. If I got aggravated, I wouldn't be ashamed of showing it, or wouldn't try to show it less.*

Later on, when asked where he would prefer to live, closer to a predominantly Ashkenazi suburb near Ashkelon or closer to Gaza, the same respondent replied:

*I would prefer the Arabs, sure. Clearly, if I sit down with an Ashkenazi it will be a lot more difficult for me than with an Arab. Why? With the Arab I have, more or less, a common language, the same customs, the same topics of conversation, we spend our time together more or less the same way.... The Ashkenazi is the one with the goods, the supplier. I don't know if what I've just said is political or not.*

Ironically enough, it is the fact that Sephardim usually allow themselves to express this full range of emotions that often leaves their actions or reactions open to media manipulation. At the same time, this phenomenon also indicates that Arabs, whether present or absent, play a vital role within the personal, cultural, social and political conflicts of Sephardim.

On the political side, three points are significant. First is the almost complete absence of certain themes we have come to expect as "typically Israeli." In the 600 pages of transcribed testimony, the ubiquitous Hebrew word *bitachon* (security) appears only twice.

As a respondent from Iraq put it: "Peace is not a formal concept; it's a cultural concept." Clearly, the Sephardim think of peace and security in different terms than the official ones.

At the same time, Israel is not perceived as "weak" or "surrounded." A woman from Libya even went so far as to see Israel's policies as quite well-reasoned: "Israel thought that by taking the path of war, she would succeed and things would be better. But I don't think that the results were good—all the sacrifices, and at the end the situation is exactly the same."

Neither is there fear of "Levantinization." Many see this fear simply as deriving from "obstinacy and arrogance" and an unwillingness to open up to other cultures. As an architect from Cairo put it:

*The Eastern European thought he's the center of the world—he's culture, he's Europe—and the Arabs are Arabs—primi-*

*tive, savage. I'm talking about uncultured people, for whom everyone else is a "goy," in the most hated sense of the word, not a goy of the Bible, which means another nation, but something despicable. When the Moroccans came in Arab dress the first thing they did was take away their Arab clothes and have them "dress properly." If the leadership in the government, in the Jewish Agency, behaved like this to the Jews of Morocco and Yemen, how could they have sat down and talked to Arabs? In order to sit and talk with a person, you have to feel he's your equal. He just prefers hummus and not gefilte fish.*

No matter on which side of the political spectrum people place themselves, there is

## Another development was Sephardic groups' overwhelming response showing not only a willingness but a desire to meet with representatives of the PLO.

an almost unanimous feeling that Israel's foreign policy toward the Arab states has been a failure, simply because overall peace has not been achieved. As another respondent from Egypt remarked:

*I think that policywise, Israeli governments were really not interested. Perhaps I'm say-*

*ing something too sharp and I hope I'm wrong. I'm also no expert. It's very complex. On the one hand, the Israeli government wanted peace; on the other, it didn't really want it. A war situation unites people, and when there's no war everyone's at each other's throats. It's hard to absorb all the Jews from the four corners of the earth and make a nation out of them. Maybe subconsciously they didn't really want to make peace with the Arab countries. I think if Sadat hadn't forced us to speak with him we would have continued the game of speaking/not speaking a few more years. Sadat dropped broad hints to Golda Meir and others and no one wanted it. Since our leaders are not stupid, I realize they understood very well and didn't want it.*

Because of its numbers, its relatively recent and non-confrontational departure from Morocco and its continued contact with its country of origin, the Israeli Moroccan community has had a unique opportunity to apply its historical experience to the contemporary Israeli context. Using their positive memories of and deep attachment to Morocco, and tempered by the reality they faced upon coming to Israel, Moroccan Jews are forging a new approach that blends the old and the new. The political potential of this model was crystallized among the young mayors of Israel's development towns, where the need to separate from the centralized government, become autonomous and meet local needs has resulted in innovations and reforms. In reasserting their strong emotional and cultural links to the past, Moroccan Jews have also sent a clear message regarding their ideas for the future, formalized in a statement by David Amar, president of the Jewish communities in Morocco:

*The community can serve as a bridge between the Arab and Jewish people, to bring closer the day when the Arabs and Jewish state will live in peace. Our experience in Morocco and the affection we feel for this land, where we enjoyed equal rights and the friendship of King Hasan II and his predecessors in the royal family, are testimony to the possibilities of Arab-Jewish, Jewish-Palestinian and Israeli-Jordanian peace.*

Another significant development was the recent overwhelming response—despite some confusion—of Sephardic groups such as East for Peace, the Oriental Front and others regarding not only a willingness but a desire to meet with the PLO.

Despite the optimism implied here, there seems to be an equally strong trend within the Sephardic community to seek legitimacy, with only minor revision, within the existing Euro-Zionist structure. Clearly, a further reassertion of those aspects of the Sephardic experience that are qualitatively different cannot be achieved without corresponding attempts on the political, social and cultural policy-making levels, attempts at a truer rapprochement between Israelis and Palestinians and the Mediterranean and Arab worlds that Israel is geographically a part of. Since this seems entirely unlikely in the short run, it remains to be seen whether some of the more innovative local leaders and Sephardic-based peace camps will retain this vision of reform if they reach positions of national impact.

■ Ammiel Alcalay is a currently finishing a doctorate for the City University of New York. This article is reprinted from the Israeli monthly, *New Outlook*.

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## The Sleeping Watchdogs

The squalid ritual known as the Pulitzer Prize awards was even more ludicrous than usual this year, since the biggest story of the Reagan years was broken by a Lebanese paper when, on Nov. 9, 1986, *al-Shira'a* reported the story of Robert MacFarlane's mission to Iran on behalf of the Reagan administration. It has subsequently become known that the *Los Angeles Times* knew the details of the deal but withheld publication for fear of endangering the lives of the hostages. Barbara Walters also acted as a conduit of information relevant to the deal, and kept quiet about it.

In fact, important aspects of the scandal were made public in the U.S. long before *al-Shira'a* ran the details supplied from Tehran (not from the Israeli intelligence outfit Mossad, as one scenario has suggested). On behalf of the CIA, the Department of Commerce distributes the transcripts of important broadcasts and articles published around the world, under the rubric Foreign Broadcast Information Service. The FBIS series are obtainable in major libraries and research institutions.

On June 3 the FBIS carried a translation of an article that had appeared in *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Moscow) on May 5, 1986, about the Iran-Iraq war quoting a former Iranian officer, Resa Amin Zahed. Zahed's remarks had appeared in *al-Dustur*, a magazine published in London. Zahed said, "You should realize that there is a difference between what is said and what actually happens. The embargo on weapons exports to Iran is a comedy played out by those who are most voluble in their support for the so-called embargo. In fact, by using round-about means, an increasing number of companies in the U.S. military-industrial complex are involved in shipping weapons, munitions and equipment to Iran and are earning fabulous profits in the process. Israel, Britain, Italy, the FRG, Japan and other capitalist countries are doing likewise."

That same day, June 3, Tass put out an English-language broadcast (published in FBIS the following day) reporting that a Kuwaiti newspaper, *al-Watan*, had revealed an agreement between Washington and Tehran. The U.S. would give Iran spare parts, weapons and military intelligence, in return for which services Iran would let U.S. and Israel establish monitoring posts to spy on the Soviet Union. With the fall of the shah the U.S. lost some particularly important monitoring posts south of the Caspian Sea. The CIA also published a translation of a Kuwaiti broadcast of May 26, 1986, in FBIS' U.S.S.R. International Affairs, citing Iranian exiles in Paris as sources for this same story. The U.S. weapons would get to Iran via Pakistan, and Israeli technicians with U.S. passports would reactivate the U.S. monitoring stations.

Charles R. Denton, discussing this publicly available information in *Middle East International*, points out that in the spring of 1986 a senior Soviet politician had inadvertently let slip that his country was also supplying some arms to Iran as well as to Iraq.

## Coma in the Kennel

It would be a more healthful exercise for the U.S. news industry to think what it has been doing wrong, rather than glad-hand

# ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn



each other in these distasteful Pulitzer rituals. Consider South Africa, one of the world's vilest and most methodical tyrannies. Has the U.S. press done a reasonable job, particularly after the clamp-down on reporting by the white regime there in 1985? The answer is no, and in the spring issue of *Africa Report*, Danny Schechter of ABC's 20/20 gives some good reasons. For one thing, U.S. reporters tend always to focus on race and human rights violations, not on the structural characteristics of the South African state. They rarely ask the question: "who runs South Africa?" And thus, as Schechter says, "downplay the fascist-style character of the state and its links to an economy that is anything but 'free.'" In other words, the functional role of apartheid within South African capitalism, clearly visible in the British, pre-Boer period, is usually ignored, since to discuss it would be to inspect capitalism as a system—which is something most U.S. reporters are innately and professionally unable to do. Thus apartheid is reported as racial discrimination, not economic domination.

The U.S. media have been similarly loathe to investigate exactly how much input U.S. advisers are having in maintaining this system of oppression. Schechter points out that the *Sowetan* reported last August that Samuel Huntington has played a key role in shaping Pretoria's policies. Huntington, a Harvard academic, was an adviser to the Johnson administration about counter-insurgency in Vietnam and later served on the Trilateral Commission, arguing that the U.S. was suffering from a distemper of democracy. Given such reservations about the politics of his own country, he no doubt feels encouraged by South Africa. Huntington was also an adviser to the National Security Council in the Carter presidency and was known about the White House corridors as "Mad Dog."

How has the U.S. press fared in reporting

police brutality in the wake of South African press restrictions imposed in November 1985? To a large extent these restrictions have worked, and too many U.S. television programs and newspaper stories do not start with a large warning that the stories have been produced and transmitted under conditions of censorship. Consider the eagerness with which the *New York Times* front-paged a dispatch from Stephen Kinzer in Nicaragua recently in which it seemed, through hazy details, that the families of imprisoned National Guardsmen might be being harassed for trying to form a support organization. Then ask how many times the *New York Times* or kindred news organizations have printed the number of detainees in South Africa—more than 20,000—or such stories as the torture of children, reported by human rights organizations.

The mainstream U.S. news organizations have given wretchedly poor coverage to the grassroots and trade union opposition, represented in such bodies as COSATU, which is a half-million strong labor organization. This blindness extends to any informed discussion of the tribal politics of Gatsha Buthelezi. Particularly shameful is the way the ANC has been misrepresented, with the press obediently picking up the disinformation abuse heaped on that organization by the Reagan administration, quizzing Oliver Tambo about his policy of "terrorism" and the "pro-Soviet" nature of the ANC, with the phrase "pro-Soviet" often giving way to "Soviet-controlled." The heroic role played by the South African Communist Party in battling the apartheid systems is not, it goes without saying, Topic A on the U.S. news agenda. On this matter of "communist control," the story is a familiar one. The press accepts the terms of the debate as framed by the Reagan administration, even if it occasionally differs on the details.

Schechter very properly notes the poor reporting of the so-called "front-line states"—the seven countries sharing bor-

ders with South Africa, frequently the object of South African state terrorism and invasion. These attacks are often discussed as "incidents" rather than as episodes in a carefully planned overall military and economic campaign. President Reagan actually got away with telling one press conference that the difference between South Africa and Nicaragua was the "Nicaragua aggresses across its borders." None of the intrepid reporters stood up to remind the president of such episodes as the capture of a South African military officer 2,000 miles from home trying to blow up an American oil refinery in Angola.

Not so long ago I read a story in a mainstream newspaper about Mozambique in which that country's desperate state was ascribed to its Marxist ideology rather than the fact that the organization RENAMO, maintained by South Africa and viewed with friendly eyes by the Reagan administration, has been destroying the country's infrastructure and terrorizing the population.

Again, recalling the zeal with which the press has relayed charges about Sandinista "export of revolution," try to remember how many reports in mainstream outlets you have seen or read about South African invasions of the capital cities of Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique; its assassination bids against the prime ministers of Lesotho and Zimbabwe; the suspicions about a South African role in the crash of President Samora Machel of Mozambique's plane; its efforts to destabilize Angola and Mozambique, with the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people through disruption of relief efforts to famine areas; the illegal South African occupation of Namibia, or the \$10 billions worth of financial damage to the front-line states, between 1980 and 1984, more than all the foreign aid these countries received in that period.

## The World in Numbers

Mozambique was recently the leader in a country-by-country run-down of the "international index of human suffering," developed by the Population Crisis committee, based in Washington. The index is a composite of various measurements of the quality of life, including per capita GNP, inflation rate, growth in employment, increase in urbanization, infant mortality, per capita calorie consumption, access to clean water, energy consumption, literacy and "general personal freedom."

In each category the country was rated between zero and 10, with increasing numbers representing increasing suffering. The maximum misery total was 100, and Mozambique was closest with 95, followed by Angola with 91 and Afghanistan with 88. Of the 20 worst-off countries, 17 are in Africa. Switzerland, that bourgeois El Dorado, was lowest with four, and West Germany second lowest with five. The lowest-rated country in the Eastern bloc was East Germany with 15. The U.S. was fifth with eight. The best-rated country in Latin America was Cuba, standing 33rd, with an index total of 31. Next Latin America nation was Costa Rica with 40, 41st in rank. These numbers must of necessity be somewhat subjective in a number of index assessments, but it's interesting that the mindset putting Switzerland first can do so well by Cuba. South Africa? It is sandwiched half down the list at 52 between Libya and Brazil.



## Televangelists' quarterly prophet and loss statement

By Peter Karman

**T**ODAY'S TEXT, "WHO SHALL DELIVER FOR ME?" is taken from the ledgers of Paul and Silas when they were down in jail.

And it came to pass in the early times that Mammon arrived at Rome, where he drove off the barbarians and spoke unto the Barberinis: Put your bank here on the Vatican hill and let it have offshore ops in Panama and the Caymans. Let Borgia be your loan officer but keep sister Lucretia away from the kitchen of the executive dining room.

And ye shall go up to the Medici of Florence and get with double-entry bookkeeping. As you debit so shall you credit. Thus you will prosper and all the respected families will render paper sacks unto you. In due time, you will form an ecumene with the great Continental of Illinois by way of God's golf partner, Marcinkus. Verily, you will make big deals and, amazingly, the ubiquitous Ledeem will have a piece of the action for he knoweth the great Haig. But heed my warning and build not your empires with masons lest you worship false shriners.

And so the banking of faith did accrue and interest did compound.

Still, all was not black ink. Many unhappy investors damned the Roman institution as indulgent and improvident. These protestees gathered around Lucre, the great foe of papal bulls and bears. Lucre told them to heed not Rome's accounts because they were not numbered. Go thee up to Zurich, Lucre counseled. Take shelter in Liechtenstein and haven in the Bahamas.

Those who purchased Lucre's advisements wrote them off, for they were legitimate expenses. And thus they were savers.

A portion of the protestees, troubled in their minds about downside risks, gathered their funds mutually and so became known as fundamentalists. They went forth to Tulsa and Charlotte, Richmond and Lynchburg, Baton Rouge and Garden Grove.

**Crock of ages:** In these places, they spoke to the multitudes, telling them that the God of miracles who ruled the universe and made the sun rise, the birds fly and the little fishes swim, nevertheless had an endless need for pieces of green paper imprinted with the faces of

yesteryear's politicians. The God of miracles also required many pieces of varicolored paper, some of which bore bucolic scenes of seashores and sylvan glens, but which

### PEARLYGATE

always carried the words, "Pay to the order of..."

The multitudes generously responded to this mysterious need and showered the protestates with clouds of the requisite paper. This somehow caused fresh miracles to happen. Golden Rolex watches

**Universities took root where there were no curious. Pleasure gardens grew where there were no hedonists.**

sprouted on human wrists. Large Cadillac cars appeared in driveways. Mansions grew in California deserts. Most spectacularly of all,

television studios, bulging with blinking Japanese video equipment, rose where only malls had existed before. And where once eyes had searched heavenward for signs from God, now satellite dishes did all the upward looking while the faithful worshipped at the holy Trinitron.

And as the bits of paper swelled into a mighty mountain, more miracles occurred. Hospitals appeared where there were no sickly. Universities took root where there were no curious. Pleasure gardens grew where there were no hedonists.

Likewise, the fundites spoke with miraculous logic to the tin and silicon angels who orbited the heavens and passed their words and pictures from earth dish to earth dish. Honor the unborn but berate the born, the fundites preached. Take from the poor and give to the rich, they counseled. The government is evil, they said. Therefore, it is better, indeed patriotic and conservative, to give your son rather than your money to it.

By miracles such as these the mutual fundamental loans prospered beyond the dreams of Croesus and Midas and almost even of Khashoggi. The rulers of rulers of nations sought their sagacity. The presidents of presidents of organizations of other orders heeded their homilies. They blessed power breakfasts and sanctified state dinners.

Horn-rimmed hordes of business majors studied their miracles. For eons, the nation's leaders of commerce had been laboring to eliminate the gap between greed and profit that was known as product. If you could make money while providing nothing tangible in return, you could own the world and be honored for your industry. And this the fundadors had accomplished.

However, the fortunes of mortals too often melt into air. And so it came to be with the wealthy fundolators. Their affairs have come undone.

**Boutique marketing salvation:** In particular, the affairs of one whom we shall call T. Bond Breadmaker and his spouse, Fanny Mae Breadmaker, have cast a funk on the fundis. T. Bond, a boyish and genial fellow, specialized in the boutique marketing of salvation. He advised his clients that the Almighty had such a wonderfully efficient customer relations department that He could swiftly and, of course, personally handle even the smallest orders by way of prayers processed by T. Bond.

Whereas other fundits advertised wholesale redemption and the healing of horrible infirmities, T. Bond preached that one could petition the Lord to find that missing sock under the bed or come up with some spare change for the bus on hectic commuter morns. Fanny Mae demonstrated by her Bram Stoker smile that the deity was particularly generous in answering the apparently endless demand for eyeliner by the terminally cosmetic.

Though Fanny Mae's eyes were cast in blue cement, those of T. Bond were free to rove. They led him to the do-tell motel and blackmail drop. At least, that is the basis of one version of this scandal. Another has it that the feckless T. Bond was the victim of a sinister scheme by rival fundarchs to take over his religious boutique business. Then there have been reports that Fanny Mae had also suited her actions to her sartorial taste for the blue and the scarlet.

One has to stand devoutly on the supermarket line to receive the missives that carry this bad news of the kingdom. Either that or wait until the dark night for the stentorian inquisitions of Ted Koppel.

The banking of faith has moved from old world to new, with no apparent improvement in the probity of its tellers. Will there be a new movement? Will Jesus come back, as some predict, this time with his accountants? Or will religion remain too profitable to be run by the pious?

Now, if you want real scandal, what about this church that has the gall to call itself Secular Humanist? ■

Peter Karman is a frequent contributor to *In These Times*.





By Lester Rodney

# Race-ball: the front-office shuffle

WITH THE SELF-REVELATION of upper-management racist thinking by Dodger Vice President Al Campanis, the press has discovered America again. No black field managers or general managers 40 years after Jackie Robinson's debut? What's going on here?

If they had listened to Robinson himself when he was alive, instead of honoring his memory with hollow clichés when he is gone, they would have a pretty good idea. Back in 1969, 12 years after he hung up his flashing spikes, the New York Yankees invited Robinson to their old-timers game. Never a part of the good-old-boys smooth-talk fraternity, and an increasingly deep critic of our society's waning commitment to full equality, Robinson refused the invitation because "My pride in my blackness... requires that until I see genuine interest in breaking the barriers that deny access to managerial and front office positions, I will say no."

Rachel Robinson, Jackie's widow, in Los Angeles for the 40th anniversary tribute, didn't miss the opportunity. She had kind words for Dodger owner O'Malley, but added, "I am also acutely aware of the need to go well beyond where we are." When reporters asked her reaction to the Campanis remarks, there was no diplomatic charity for the special occasion. "I was appalled and angered," she said. (Incidentally, NBC showed the kind of priority it put on the Robinson tribute by staying with a semi-final tennis match in South Carolina and missing the entire pre-game Robinson ceremony at Dodger Stadium.)

Black ballplayers were also appalled, but hardly surprised, by Campanis' ramblings about black deficiencies. Former superstar Hank Aaron, the game's all-time home-run leader, probably put it best when he called it "the tip of the iceberg" that illuminated where the obstacle to real equality of opportunity lay.

A little interplay among the Dodgers themselves was interesting. Bill Madlock, black third baseman, four-time National League batting champion, was outspokenly critical of Campanis as soon as the story broke. Teammate Pedro Guerrero, though not endorsing anything Campanis said, then expressed his shock at the firing, citing Campanis' good points, including his support for Guerrero, and suggested that Madlock was out of line in his criticism. Madlock responded that there was no issue between himself and Guerrero, that he could understand Guerrero's feelings toward Campanis, "but he's Dominican.... I don't know the background of Dominicans. He doesn't know the background of black Americans.... Unless you are black you don't know what kind of statement it was."

**Managerial blackout:** And unless one is a black American

ballplayer, it may be difficult to know how to evaluate the fact that there have been three black field managers (Frank Robinson at Cleveland and San Francisco for a total of three and a half years, Larry Doby with the Chicago White Sox and Maury Wills with Seattle for less than a season each).

In *These Times* in April 1979, ran an article documenting baseball's ludicrous musical chairs managerial charade for whites only. We cited nine then-current white managers who had led at least three teams, meaning they were fired at least twice, then recycled. We asked whether Doby, sacked in '78 after his brief stint with a subpar team, would get the usual second whirl, and advised readers "See the managerial lineups same time next year. Don't hold your breath."

Things have not changed for the better since then. The same old names keep circling around. Seattle manager Dick Williams was fired at Boston, Oakland, California, Montreal and San Diego. Boston's John McNamara was canned by Oakland, Cincinnati, San Diego and California. The Angels' Gene Mauch got the pink slip from Philadelphia, Montreal and Minnesota. In recent years Bill Virdon, Chuck Tanner and Ralph Houk are other examples of the twice-fired, thrice-hired syndrome.

**The white shuffle:** Try Alvin Dark (who isn't dark), sacked by San Francisco, Kansas City, Cleveland, Oakland and San Diego, while the respected, knowledgeable Bill White (who isn't white) never got his chance. Or take that sterling light-beer barfly Billy Martin (please!), who bounced like the little white ball from Minnesota to Detroit to New York to Texas and back to the Yankees *ad infinitum*, while a guy like Willie Stargell, with "manager" written all over him, can only make it to the coaching ranks.

Tony La Russa didn't have Doby's employment problem after being let go by the White Sox. There he is managing at Oakland (where the popular and articulate Reggie Jackson is also to be found, but not as manager). And who has the deserted White Sox job? Why it's Jim Fregosi, that "failure" with the Angels. Well, enough. Good luck to Jim, and to the Cubs' Gene Michael, another of Steinbrenner's firees at New York. Nor are we criticizing the owners who fired Robinson, Doby and Wills. After all, they hired them when it was an avant-garde thing to do. White managers get fired, too. And hired and fired and hired again. Which is the point.

Oh, a few fresh managerial faces do appear, sometimes right from the playing ranks—Larry Bowa at San Diego and Pete Rose at Cincinnati, for instance. And Campanis



had the gall in that TV interview to say that blacks had to "pay their dues" in the minor leagues before being considered.

There has been a minor "backlash" in favor of Campanis, detectable on radio talk shows and letters to newspapers. You know, he was a great guy and was probably tricked into saying things he didn't mean by those fast-talking interviewers. The truth, apparent to all who saw the show, is that Ted Koppel tried to save Campanis from himself, but couldn't.

"They" may not have the necessary qualifications to lead teams, said Al. So let's hear him explain the National Basketball Association, where, given an equal shake, K.C. Jones is head coach of the championship Boston Celtics, as was Bill Russell before him, Al Attles led San Francisco to the title and Lenny Wilkins took Seattle to the top.

**A strange curve:** Strange indeed that an executive with the Dodgers should ask "How many [black] pitchers?" when they couldn't possibly have won two of their pennants without staff ace Don Newcombe, or a third without league relief ace Joe Black. Is this year's Dodger Ken Howell a Caucasian in blackface? Now that Campanis has some free time, will someone buy him a ticket to Cooperstown so he can learn about Hall of Fame pitchers Bob Gibson and Satchel Paige?

And blacks can't swim; they aren't buoyant. (Joan Rivers convulsed her audience by providing a little swim tank and inviting any blacks in the audience to jump in. One black man laughingly took her up. While floating around he was joined by a lighter-skinned youth who explained he was "half black" and wanted to see which end wasn't buoyant.)

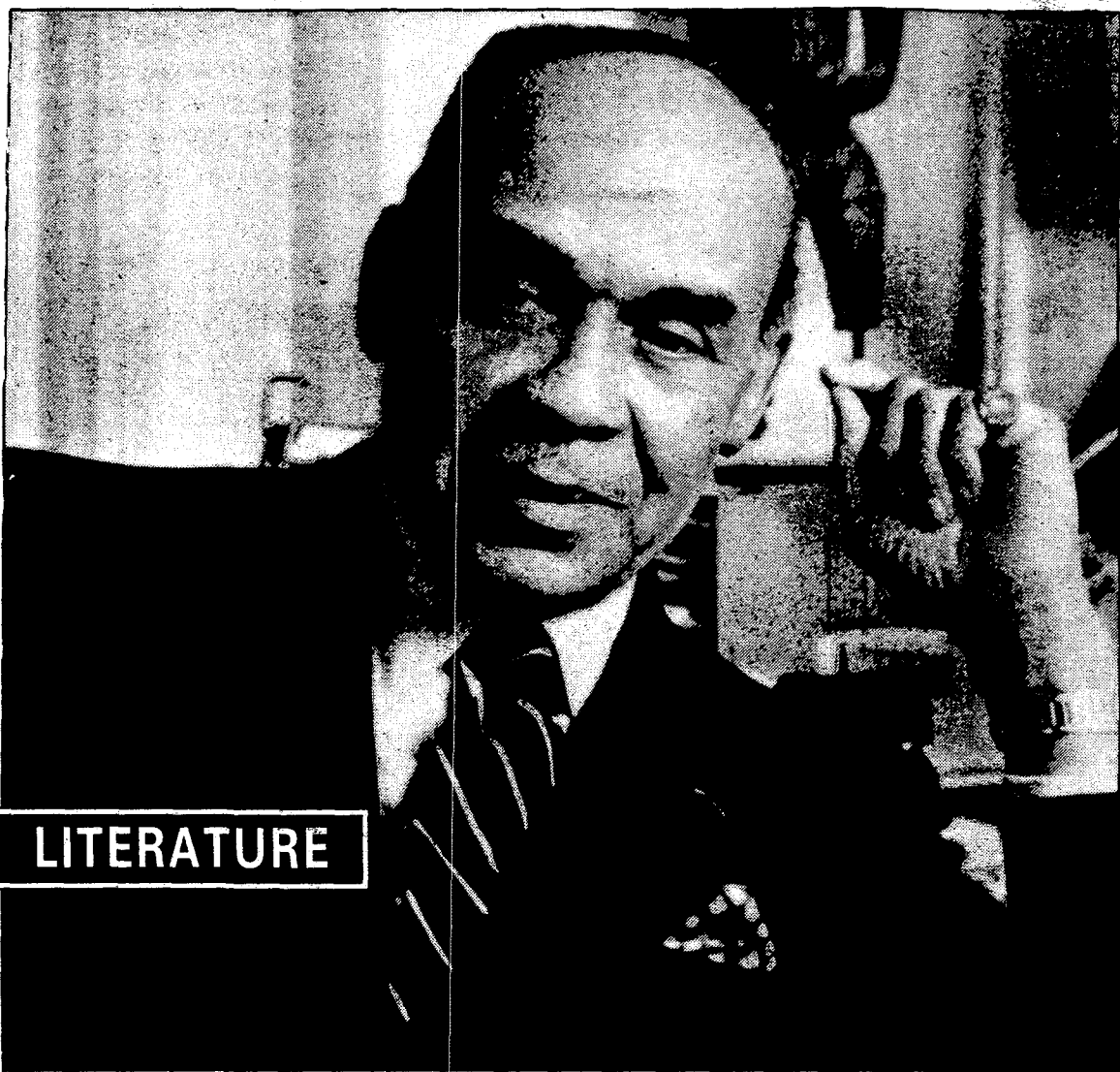
The most intriguing question to ask Peter O'Malley might be: in view of Campanis' self-revealed ingrained stereotypes of black inferiority, how was it possible in all the years of intimate contact and discussion with him not to have detected it?

The most pertinent question to the rest of us: do we tend to get complacent in the face of some improvements and forget how deep and pervasive the sickness of racist attitudes remains in our land?

As for Campanis' job possibilities, he might be the perfect choice to assist Pete Rozelle in running the National Football League, which has never had a black head coach, though highly qualified black assistant coaches stand ready, and Grambling's Eddie Robinson continues to stock the league with well-prepared stars.

Lester Rodney is a widely-published sports writer, who formerly worked for the *Daily Worker*.





## LITERATURE

Ralph Ellison's ideas are essential to anybody's theory of cultural politics.

### Going to the Territory

By Ralph Ellison  
Random House, 352 pp., \$19.95

By Eric Lott

*The word play of Negro kids in the South would make the experimental poets, the modern poets, green with envy.*  
—Ralph Ellison

**W**RITERS ON THE LEFT HAVE often been stone cold to Ralph Ellison. And on the face of it, to say true, there seems little ground for a rich relationship, despite the fact that Ellison began in the late '30s by writing for radical publications. For one thing, he bristles at political prescriptions. Though by no means without a sense of what he calls "conscientiousness," Ellison has always believed that the writer is a party of one, art a matter of aesthetics. Not a few have therefore balked at the brother's bold strokes. John O. Killens trashed *Invisible Man* on its appearance in 1952 because, with its fantastic collection of Toms, pimps, perverts and robotic communists, it did not live up to the demands of respectable socialist realism; and CP-influenced black writers, among others, found his aloofness from the "freedom struggles" in the '50s and '60s puzzling to the point of bitterness.

Nor will Ellison be hemmed in by conventional left notions, black or white, of the "Negro writer." In the early '60s there was a polemical tussle with *Dissent's* Irving Howe, who had written off Ellison and James Baldwin as tempered, way-

## Home-boy Ralph E. stakes out his turf

ward sons of the properly victimized and angry father, Richard Wright. Black aestheticians later in that decade likewise had little use for Ellison's customary rhetoric of American unity-in-diversity, of an "American" cultural sphere that transcended its class and racial divisions.

Problem is, Ellison's a cusp figure, a writer who came of age between the "revolutionary" '30s and the "formalist" '40s; and his writings betray certain contradictions generated in part by that history. He didn't shift from one commitment to the other so much as absorb both and transcend them, moving beyond the white-inspired dualisms of protest yet grounding his ideas of art in the rituals and myths of an often oppressive society. Ellison's aesthetics may veer skyward of sociology or politics, but art and culture are for him profoundly social expressions of the human realities, including race, in which they're embedded. It follows that he has a contradictory variety of creative and critical masks—so that everyone has their own Ellison, rarely giving it up to the man himself to define his contribution to a critique of the American scene.

**E-pluribus ruminations:** *Going to the Territory*, a companion vol-

ume of essays to 1964's brilliant *Shadow and Act*, indicates why there's been so much trouble, while revealing the amazing critical gifts this home-boy brings to bear on American culture. Anyone who dismisses him as "assimilationist" ought to be prepared to defend such a facile dismissal; along with Ellison's e-pluribus ruminations—the oft-invoked Constitution has to be his favorite American text—

### Ellison can't be hemmed in by conventional ideas.

there are descriptions of the culture from which he came that are as complexly perceptive as any yet produced. Defining what, exactly, that culture is, in its specifically black and more mainstream manifestations, keeps the edge on his improbably optimistic assessments of the fluidity and "randomness" of American life.

No doubt it's this version of America that gives his detractors trouble. America for Ellison is a "culture-of-cultures," an integration of minority contributions into a miscegenated whole, and those

who take refuge in what he calls the "blood theory" of separate black and white cultures are simply out on the sternness of the American experiment ("most American whites are culturally part Negro American without even realizing it").

The "unconscious logic of the democratic process," which throws New England educational ideals out to the Oklahoma Territory in the person of Inman Page, or finds a precious Prokofiev manuscript in the possession of a Tuskegee instructor in Alabama, exemplifies the American "vernacular revolt" against the mother country—a continual, eclectic, improvisatory reinvention of culture entailed on a land in which national customs and traditions have never really rigidified.

The elements of truth in this mythological America are important; in Ellison's orotund prose, the possibility of lateral and upward cultural mobility, the organic relation of regional styles to the whole, and the aleatory mode of American life are all reclaimed and revived. But it strikes a pessimist like me as a dangerous kind of idealism given the resurgence of racism on campuses and in police stations. Fortunately, Ellison's typical hedge—that we've only truly melted at the level of culture, rarely in any other way—does acknowledge the harsher realities of these United States. What's more, his specific analyses of black culture detail the pressures, obstacles and limits stemming from American race relations in a way that overrides his more programmatic statements. It's a matter of emphasis: he never uses the term "black culture," doesn't believe in it, and paradoxically has been one of its most important exegetes.

**Resilience of black life:** Like W.E.B. DuBois, Ellison would remind us that sociological emphases on the "Negro problem" obscure our view of the resilience and richness of black life, which has always been far from the sum of its brutalization.

Reversing the logic of those who substitute pity for perception, Ellison argues that when you plant a body of people sewn together by a common experience "in a highly pressurized situation and they survive, they're surviving with all of those motivations and with all of the basic ingenuity which any group develops in order to remain alive." There's agency there, making and dealing of the kind that "constitute a culture."

Accordingly, even sympathetic white folks' term for that culture—"cultural deprivation"—is a big misnomer, a racist incognizance of the very different reality in which it is rooted, and out of which, Ellison often remarks, blacks feel free to judge or altogether avoid white beliefs and practices. Street kids,

for example, invent a "counter-scheme for living" that leads them to "reject many of the values which are offered them by the schools" in favor of a more immediate and plausible reality than the "ultimately frustrating" one of museums and theaters.

The verbal richness of their slang grows out of a need for "words which will communicate, which will designate the objects, the processes, the manners and subtleties of their urban experience with the least amount of distortion from the outside." Indeed, with all of this intelligence and invention, this "cool," this grace under pressure, who, asks Ellison, is culturally deprived? To be ill-clothed and ill-housed is but one form of such deprivation; to spend great amounts of time in the care of a psychoanalyst, to receive "progressive" educations that leave you without a clue—the poverty of the middle classes—is certainly another form.

But resistance is only part of the issue. The wry elegance of black cultural forms, "from sermons to struts, pimp-walks and dance steps," should sooner or later dispel any residual racism as to either the intellectual backwardness or "natural ability" of their makers. Ellison argues, for example, that "although jazz musicians are practitioners of a vernacular style, they are also unreconstructed elitists when it comes to maintaining the highest standards of the music which expresses their sense of the American experience."

Those who still flinch at the suggestion of Duke Ellington as America's greatest 20th-century composer should wake up and talk to Ralph E.; the discovery of Ellington convinced him that "jazz possessed possibilities of a range of expressiveness comparable to that of classical European music."

Black cultural forms have most often been condescendingly labeled "folk art," but for doubters Ellison makes it plain that the only indigenous fine arts we have are rooted there.

My hunch is that Ellison has resisted the various forms of art-as-politics because of his faith in the wit, wonder and deftness of his group's culture, assuming that artful complexity eventually speaks for itself. The melting-pottery rouses my skepticism, but his vernacular notions are essential to anybody's theory of American cultural politics. One mark of Ellison's faith in black culture is that his version of America is created in its image. Like in Ellison's America has all the unexpected irony, clutch self-reliance and swinging resourcefulness of a tenor player improvising on the wing.

Eric Lott is a New York writer whose work has appeared in *Caribbean Review* and *South Atlantic Review*, among other publications.



**War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War**  
By John Dower  
Pantheon, 398 pp., \$22.50

By Jeremy Solomon

**A**T A TIME WHEN TRADE TENSIONS between the U.S. and Japan are rising and when each country's images of the other seem to be reverting to older negative stereotypes, some reminiscent of World War II, a book comes along that examines the importance of race in the Pacific arena of World War II.

Using popular sources—songs, movies and cartoons—as well as government and academic documents, John Dower presents a fascinating, if frightening, picture of how both sides dehumanized the other using racial and cultural stereotypes, and how this amplified a conflict most Western correspondents found “more savage than in the European theater.”

To Americans and the British, the Japanese were subhuman or superhuman (depending on the state of the war), either apes, giants or vermin but rarely humans like themselves. A simian image of the enemy and the use of the hunt as a metaphor for fighting the Japanese were particularly common in Western depictions of the Pacific conflict. Behind these images, of course, lay hundreds of years of European and American prejudice toward the non-white natives of the New World, black African slaves and Asian immigrants in the U.S.—prejudices reinforced by 19th-century Western science.

Because Europeans and Americans were their former tutors in the ways of the modern world, the situation was a little more complicated for the Japanese. As a result, they viewed the Americans and British as demons and themselves—the Yamato race—as purer, more moral than their foes. Justifications for these beliefs were found in the Confucian classics from China, the indigenous Shinto religion and folk beliefs about strangers and outsiders.

Dower traces the racist images of World War II to older cultural stereotypes and, fundamentally, to unequal power relations on both sides of the Pacific.

Startling to read of—especially to one reared on the myth of the Good War—is the visceral race hate and brutality Allied fighting men brought to Pacific battlefields. One reads that Allied soldiers mutilated the bodies of the Japanese war dead for “souvenirs,” tortured and executed prisoners and shot helpless sailors and airmen in the water. Adm. William Halsey, who exhorted his men to “Kill Japs, kill

Japs, kill more Japs,” stated the feelings of many Americans when he said that he hoped that at the end of the war Japanese would only be spoken in hell. Brutality was also rampant on the Japanese side, and hatred and atrocity fed a bloodbath that ended with the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Ironically, in 1937 the Japanese bombings of Chinese cities drew horrified reactions from world governments.

**Racism in sharp relief:** Dower sees that the war had at least one positive effect: it hastened a revolution in racial consciousness. By

forcing Western powers to criticize Nazi ideology, the conflict brought into sharper relief the pervasive racism in the U.S. toward blacks, Jews and other minorities, and resulted in greater demands for racial

## RACISM

equality in the U.S. Also, Japanese victories in the Pacific showed Asian nationalities that Westerners were not invincible, thereby strengthening national movements in that part of the globe.

After the war the communists, the Chinese in particular, became the inhuman horde threatening Western civilization, while the U.S. and Japan became allies and trading partners. These rapid changes

**A simian image of the enemy and the use of the hunt as a metaphor for fighting the Japanese were especially common in the West.**

showed the stereotypes to be both malleable and resilient. As Dower writes: “Enemies changed with wrenching suddenness; but the concept of ‘the enemy’ remained

impressively impervious to drastic alteration, and in its peculiar way provided psychological continuity and stability from the World War to the Cold War.”

Today, as economic competition stiffens, in both the U.S. and Japan the pejorative images and ways of thinking return. Thus a high-ranking U.S. trade delegate to Japan in 1983 spoke to a Democratic Party meeting of “the little yellow men, you know, Honda.” And a recent article in the *New York Times Magazine* likened resurgent Japanese nationalism to a “national neurosis,” much in the way American social and behavioral scientists sought to explain the Japanese in their wartime “national character” studies. The national character studies, Dower points out, often simply reinforced popular prejudices that the Japanese were mentally ill and emotionally stunted.

For their part the Japanese have recently been snapping up copies of books that purport to show how Jews secretly control the U.S., and last October Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone stated that the U.S. was unable to compete economically with Japan because of the presence of large numbers of blacks and Hispanics in the U.S.

Dower ends his book by noting that this latest round of U.S.-Japanese competition has no precedent: in this round the prize is world economic and technological preeminence, and for the first time there is the feeling that the U.S. is no longer number one. It remains to be seen how the U.S. and Japan—

## Louseous Japanicas

The first serious outbreak of this lice epidemic was officially noted on December 7, 1941, at Honolulu, T. H. To the Marine Corps, especially trained in combating this type of pestilence, was assigned the gigantic task of extermination. Extensive experiments on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, and Saipan have shown that this louse inhabits coral atolls in the South Pacific, particularly pill boxes, palm trees, caves, swamps and jungles.



Flame throwers, mortars, grenades and bayonets have proven to be an effective remedy. But before a complete cure may be effected the origin of the plague, the breeding grounds around the Tokyo area, must be completely annihilated.

A graphic from the March 1945 Marine monthly *Leatherneck*. U.S. incendiary bombing of Japanese cities began the same month.

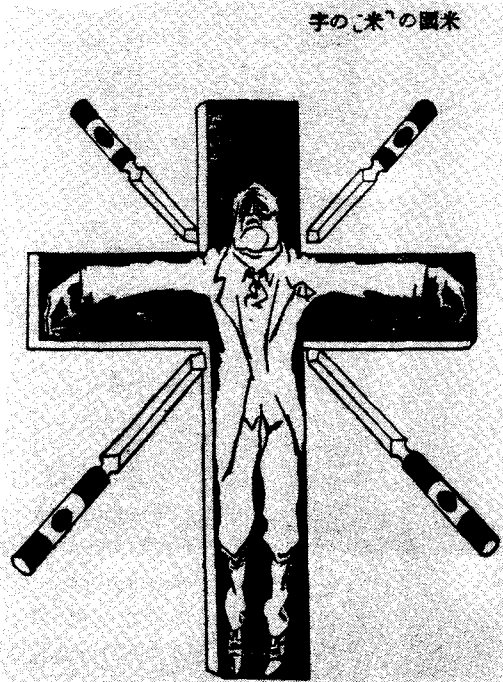
## U.S., Japanese racial salvos in a 'good' war that wasn't

Both sides now: knuckle-walking Nipponese; Roosevelt crucified.



**How Tough Are the Japanese?**

They are not tougher than other soldiers, says a veteran observer, but brutality is part of their fighting equipment.



War Without Mercy



# Trial

Continued from page 3

ing director of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.)

As for what the Reagan administration and the CIA are doing in Central America, Ellsberg said: "There is an uncanny resemblance—a feeling I am reliving the experience of what happened in Vietnam," where the American public is being misled about the government's real intentions. "I believe the planning processes [for Vietnam and Nicaragua] are almost identical," he testified. "I believe we are moving toward direct combat involvement."

•Ralph McGehee, after testifying, was hugged by Edgar Chamorro. What they shared was not so much a friendship but an emotional tie—they both had been tools of the CIA in planning and carrying out the murder of civilians.

McGehee served as director of the CIA's "dirty tricks" division. In that capacity he directed the Phoenix program in Vietnam. McGehee testified that he oversaw the murder of 20,000 Vietnamese civilians, and also said that from 1954 through 1964 Vietnam was a failed CIA covert operation. Moments later, when he testified how the CIA orchestrated the overthrow of Sukarno in Indonesia in 1964, resulting in the murder of 500,000 to a million Indonesians, one of the jurors began to cry.

As to the way the CIA treated Congress, McGehee testified: "They were treated like the proverbial mushroom. You're kept in the dark and you're fed manure." The deception of the president, he said, was a continuing practice of the agency.

In an interview after his court appearance, McGehee said he did not put it past former CIA Director William Casey to be playing possum following surgery to remove a cancerous brain tumor in order to avoid testifying under oath about what he knows con-

cerning arms sales to Iran and diversion of profits from those sales to the contras.

•Chamorro, a former priest and ex-leader of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN, the CIA-sponsored umbrella front group for the contras), was recruited by the CIA in 1982. His role, he said, was to serve as a moderate "front man" for the contras to win support from a reluctant U.S. Congress. As part of his duties, Chamorro testified that he translated from English to Spanish the infamous "assassination manual," a CIA-authored how-to pamphlet on terrorizing a civilian population that advocated, among other things, assassinating Nicaraguan judges and public officials.

Chamorro also testified that he bribed members of the Honduran press with money given to him by the CIA. In addition, when the CIA mined Nicaraguan harbors in January 1984, Chamorro testified he was awakened late that night and given a press release to read claiming the FDN had been responsible for the mining. Chamorro also described from the witness stand how it had been contra policy to take no prisoners, to use land mines that would not kill but rather maim and cripple Nicaraguans in order to make them a burden on the Sandinista government. When Chamorro grew disgusted with the killing and the atrocities being committed by the contras, he protested and the CIA removed him as an FDN leader.

In an interview outside the courthouse, Chamorro said his role was straight out of a Kafka novel: "Orders came from the castle. But who's giving the orders? Who's making the decisions? I tried to ask who was responsible? Is anybody responsible to stop the killing?" We were being used, he sadly concluded.

The trial attracted the national media spotlight, in large part because of Amy Carter. A daughter of a former president facing jail for crimes against the state made for a great story—and everyone was there, from

the *New York Times* to *People* to the *Guardian*.

But Carter's presence, with her disdain for fashion, proved both a boon to the defense and a distraction, as cameras and reporters followed her every movement. Instead of focusing on the trial's contents, many reporters, apparently on instructions from their editors, wrote frivolous accounts detailing Carter's clothing, her hair style and even how much she spent on toothpaste.

Yet throughout the media inquisition, Carter, a sophomore who attends Brown University in Providence, R.I., never lost her composure. Although she politely answered all questions in a soft voice, she repeatedly reprimanded the media for paying so much attention to her while ignoring the crimes committed by the CIA.

By the trial's end, no one doubted her sincerity when she pledged to continue her activity. On the witness stand, she explained the reasons for her political activity as follows: "As a 19-year-old, I've been following the situation in Nicaragua." The CIA's covert role there has "striking parallels to my brother's generation in Vietnam.... I thought I should act now."

On the courthouse steps, to the loud applause of supporters after she had been acquitted of disorderly conduct charges for sitting down in front of a bus, Carter urged

people to go to Langley, Va., the site of CIA headquarters, to protest and get arrested on April 27. "And bring your parents," she urged.

Would she ask her parents to come, too? "I'll try," she said with a smile. "I don't tell them what to do and they don't tell me what to do."

Unlike Carter, Abbie Hoffman, an elder statesman of campus radicalism, had little inhibition about courting the news media. He grabbed every opportunity to get his message across.

Hoffman represented himself at the trial, which at times seemed a bad decision. He fumbled badly, for example, when examining defense witness Dr. Paul Epstein, a Boston, Mass., physician who visited Nicaragua in 1983 and 1987. The prosecution kept objecting as Hoffman failed to ask questions in a proper legal fashion. Finally, the judge intervened, rephrasing the questions so as to get through the testimony.

Most of Hoffman's closing statement was stricken by the judge, who ruled that his arguments were not relevant to the trial. But the closing contained Hoffman's most memorable turn of phrase. We do not have a problem "with the CIA gathering intelligence," he told the jury. "This country needs intelligence," he said with a straight face. □

Richard Asinof writes regularly for *In These Times*.

## Fowler

Continued from page 13

which dispassionately watches an unbridled marketplace work its will while turning a blind eye to the interests of the consumer." Listen to Rep. Al Swift (D-WA), an old broadcaster himself, likening the public interest to "Tinkerbell": "You've got to clap for it, or it'll disappear." And their sentiments are joined by heavyweights in both houses not known for leaning toward liberal agendas. Rep. John Dingell (D-MI) and Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-SC), who head the committees that oversee telecommunications, have both declared their intention to send strong messages to the FCC—to get the commission back to the mandate Congress gave it.

Of course, what they're registering is not just a sudden surge of public-interest feeling but the battle to keep agenda-setting in the hands of the lawmakers, not the bureaucrats. But the result may be legislation that re-establishes the public interest as a communications priority.

**Everything old is new again:** Consider some of the proposed bills. The bill reaffirming the Fairness Doctrine, backed with breathtaking bipartisanship (and we're talking New Rightist Rep. Newt Gingrich [R-GA] co-sponsoring John Dingell's bill) is moving quickly through both houses. It may be able to override the inevitable veto, while accumulating enough evidence to defeat a probable Supreme Court challenge. Two bills in the House spell out in minute detail for the FCC what a decent affirmative action hiring policy looks like, and Al Swift is discussing EEO language in a bill he's proposing dealing with comparative renewal. The rule requiring owners to hold stations three years could be restored by legislation. A House bill may soon be matched with a parallel bill in the Senate calling for a freeze on telephone access charges.

And consider congressional hearings, which even when they don't result in legislation let the Commission know what it can get away with. Rep. Markey's hearings on telephone subscriber line charges revealed

the weaknesses in the FCC's "let the little guy pay" policy, and have forced the FCC to cough up some data to prove bypass is a problem. Soon come hearings on the damage to news, to public affairs and to employment of women and minorities as a result of takeovers at all three TV networks.

The legacy of an FCC that did its best vigorously to shake the invisible hand may be a resurgence of pro-public interest regulation, or at least a spate of the kind of legislation that is disparagingly called "micro-management" by insiders. The battle with Congress will assuredly be joined by Fowler's designated successor. Dennis Patrick shares Fowler's perspective, although he's a far cooler customer, making fewer enemies on his way to his objectives.

As the political tide shifts, the challenge is to define the public interest in a changing era for telecommunications. The FCC's indecency decision shows that it's easy to invoke the public interest in the service of censorship. And that's a temptation not unknown in the halls of Congress.

The sound reconstruction of a public interest policy will have to be undertaken not only by political insiders but also by public interest and community organizers. It will get worked out at the local, state and national levels. While Fowler's tenure has been marked by protecting the public from diverse views in programming and securing corporate privilege to exploit new technology's potential in the telephone industry, the real task in the wake of Fowler will require a commitment to diversity, pluralism and broad access to our communications networks.

Eagerly urging public advocates on is irrepressible radio personality Howard Stern, who ended his first show after the ruling by urging listeners to support the ACLU and protest in front of the FCC. After persisting in using no-no words, Stern said, "If this isn't Russia, if we still have our rights, then I'll be back [for his next scheduled show]." Now let's see, that's freedom of speech, not freedom after speech.... □

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## AMERICAN

## PICTURES

### MOST SUCCESSFUL CAMPUS EVENT OF THE 80's:

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### BACKGROUND

The show is based on the 5 years a young Dane, Jacob Holdt, hitchhiked over 100,000 miles in the USA. He bought film for his camera by selling blood twice weekly. He lived in more than 400 homes - from the poorest southern sharecroppers, to some of America's wealthiest families (Pabst, Rockefeller). He joined the rebellion in Wounded Knee, followed criminals in the ghettos during muggings, sneaked inside to work in southern slave camps and infiltrated secret Ku Klux Klan meetings. While working with prisoners he saw two of his friends assassinated. By the time he returned to Denmark 12 of his American friends had been murdered.

"Not since Jacob Riis' book of social criticism *How the Other Half Lives* has there been as powerful a record of American living as American Pictures. Its presentation at the Cannes Film Festival created a sensation."  
*The San Francisco Film Festival.*

"What makes American Pictures so disturbingly powerful is the cumulative effects of Holdt's photographs combined with his outsider's analysis of the dynamics of poverty and oppression in the U.S."  
*Los Angeles Times*

A show and a book of a Danish vagabond's journey through the underclass



"Powerful, intense"  
*New York Times*

### THE BOOK

The book, which is based on the show, is an international bestseller. The *Village Voice* revealed that the U.S. State Department grew worried about its impact overseas and commissioned photographers to present the "other side" of America. Written in a personal tone it is now a popular classroom supplement in American schools. 800 photos, the bulk in color.

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## CHICAGO

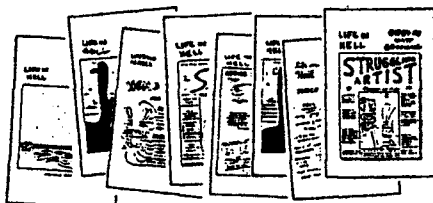
May 9

Come join DSA in celebration at this year's Norman Thomas-Eugene V. Debs 29th annual dinner. We will be honoring Jacquelyne Grimshaw, Director of the Mayor's Office of Intergovernmental Affairs and Deputy Campaign Director; and Heather Booth, Co-Director of Citizen Action and founder of the

May 11

A jazz/blues party for the Crossroads Fund at Lilly's, 2515 Lincoln, featuring Erwin Helfer and the Chicago Boogie Ensemble, and David Hernandez and Street Sounds, 6-9 p.m. Celebrate another year of funding social change projects, and say good-bye to Jean Hardisty, who will be leaving Chicago. Tickets: \$30. Call 987-0941.

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"I GOT A POSTCARD FROM TEXAS"  
"I GOT A POSTCARD FROM HELL!"



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L. Barry—/M. Groening '87 Calendar now \$4 (includes p&h)! Collector's item!

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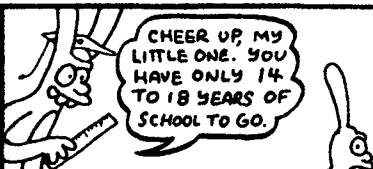
# LIFE IN HELL

LIFE IN HELL

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School Is Hell  
AN EDUCATIONAL CARTOON MINISERIES

LESSON 2:  
NURSERY SCHOOL—  
THE HELLISHNESS BEGINS



OH BOY! NURSERY SCHOOL!

AT LAST! AN ESCAPE FROM HOME, FROM THE ENDLESS HOURS OF TV GAME SHOWS AND SOAP OPERAS, FROM THE TEDIOUS CRAWLING OVER THE SAME BORING FLOORS, WATCHING THE SAME BORING DUST BALLS—AN ESCAPE FROM ISOLATION AND FORCED NAPS AND HIDDEN COOKIES. WELCOME! WELCOME TO THE ROUGH-AND-TUMBLE WORLD OF NURSERY SCHOOL HIGH JINKS!

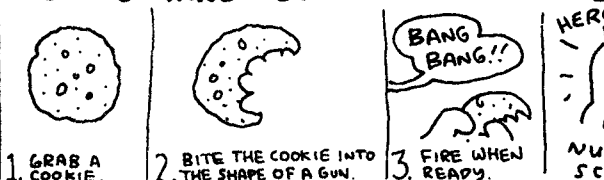
YOU MEAN TO SAY IT'S NOT A JAIL FOR CHILDREN?

FOR GOODNESS' SAKE, NO. THAT WON'T BEGIN FOR ANOTHER YEAR OR TWO.

FATIGUED? NERVOUS? FREAKED OUT?

TRY ROCKING BACK AND FORTH, ROLLING YOUR HEAD AROUND, SUCKING YOUR THUMB, OR CLUTCHING AT YOUR GENITALS. DRIVES ADULTS CRAZY.

HOW TO MAKE A GUN OUT OF A COOKIE



THOSE OTHER LITTLE CREATURES -- ARE THEY DEMONS, OR WHAT?

I LOVE YOU SO MUCH I HATE YOU.

WILL YOU MARRY ME?

I'M A DOGGY.

FETCH ME A TRUCK.

GO WAY!!

I HAVE BIGGER BLOCKS AT HOME.

I DON'T.

THOSE LITTLE CREATURES WHO ARE POKING, PINCHING, AND HITTING YOU ARE NOT MONSTERS, ANIMALS, OR TV IMAGES--THEY ARE SMALL, POWERLESS HUMAN BEINGS JUST LIKE YOURSELF. YOU MIGHT WISH TO POKE, PINCH, AND HIT THEM TO MAKE SURE.

THINGS TO DO

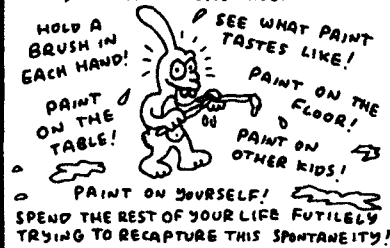
1. FORM SMALL TRIBES.
2. SET UP A HIERARCHY, COMPLETE WITH RULES, BOSSES, AND TABOOS.
3. DISDAIN THE OPPOSITE SEX.
4. FORAGE AND HOARD (BLOCKS, DOLLS, ETC.)
5. BRUTALIZE OUTSIDERS.
6. TAKE BREAKS FOR JUICE AND COOKIES.

YOU'RE A DOODY DUM-DUM PING-PONG!!

TRUE-- BUT CAN I JOIN ANYWAY?

THIS IS PROBABLY YOUR LAST CHANCE TO BE ARTISTIC

THAT'S RIGHT!! SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPERIMENT WITH GLEEFUL ABANDON, BEFORE THEY SHOW YOU HOW TO DO IT RIGHT, AND RUIN EVERYTHING.



SECRET NURSERY SCHOOL FUN

DURING NAPTIME, LIE ON YOUR LITTLE BLANKET ON THE FLOOR AND FEIGN SLEEP. WHEN THE TEACHER WALKS BY, YOU CAN LOOK UP HER DRESS.



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**V**EGETABLE FARMER TOM WILLEY PULLS AT one end of his bushy mustache and with his other hand points to a nearby almond orchard where immature nuts the size of dimes shine hard and green in the California sun.

"The guy who owns that place keeps borrowing money year after year and never makes it back," says Willey. "He's about 60 and he's built up a hell of an equity, but every year it's just eroding, eroding, eroding. He's on his knees every night praying that the damn urban development will come out here and he'll be able to sell out for \$50,000 an acre before he's not worth anything."

Willey, a short and wiry Los Angeles native in his mid-30s, removes his dark green cap which bears the legend "New Farm," the name of a favorite magazine, and wipes his brow. "Man, that is sick," he pronounces, shaking his head sympathetically at his neighbor's predicament. "And *that* is the future of farming."

I have come to Fresno County, California, to look into the future of Iowa, my home state. A recent study by the Congressional Office on Technology Assessment warns that if current trends continue in the Midwest, the heartland's broad-based agricultural system will soon resemble California's corporate-dominated one. And Fresno County is the heart of California's agribusiness.

Located in the San Joaquin Valley, Fresno is the largest agricultural producing county in America. If it were a state, Fresno county's farm production would rank higher than 25 U.S. states.

**The colony system:** At the end of the last century, speculators bought up most of the valley's fertile land and divided it into 20 to 160 acre lots which they advertised across the country. The Colony System, as it was called, produced a strong and diverse community of small family farms that grew various fruits, vegetables and livestock, similar in many ways to the farm system that still dominates the Midwest.

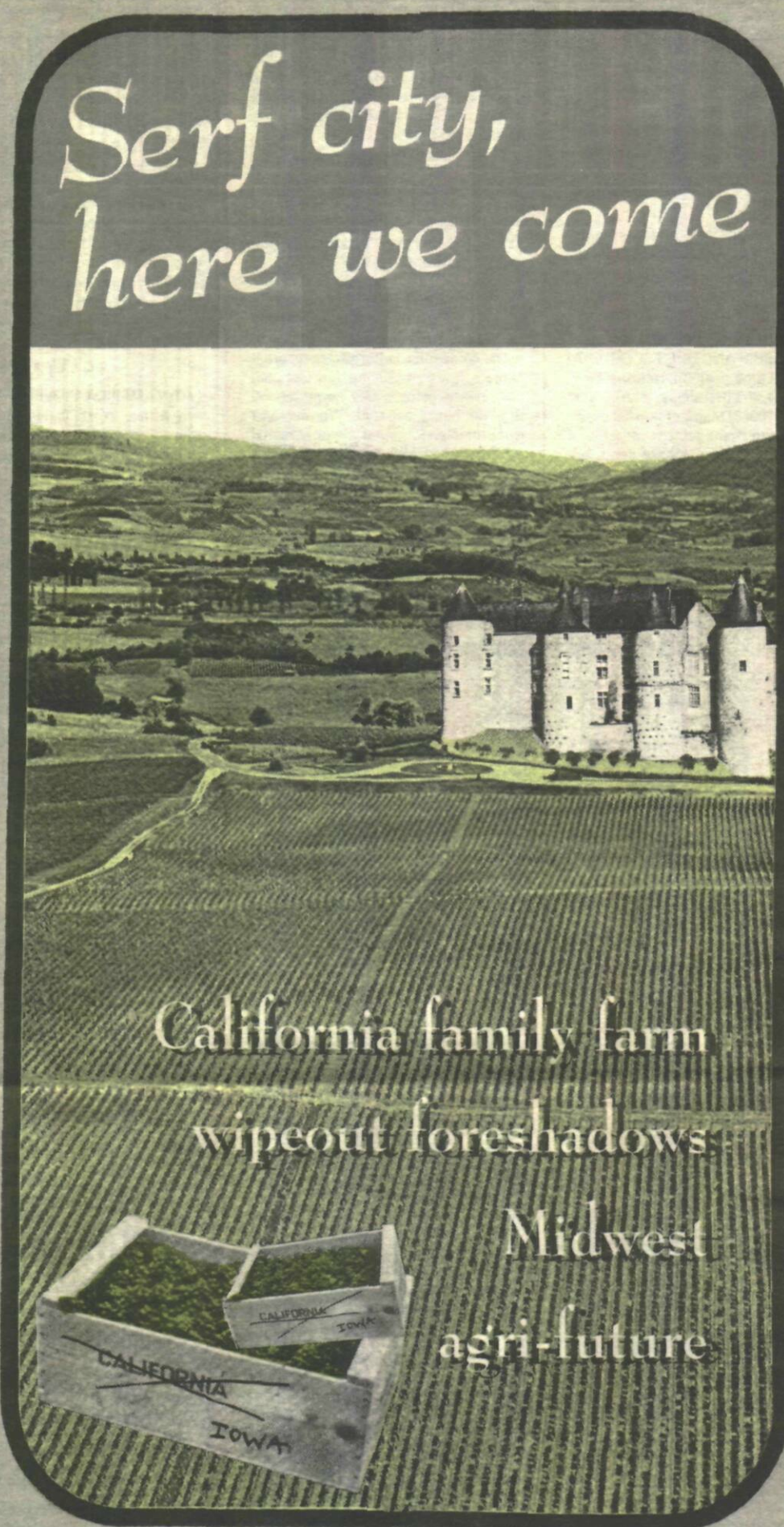
Soon after World War I, however, large corporations began moving into the area, swallowing up one farm after another until today agribusiness giants like Sun-Maid and Tenneco rule the valley and family farmers like Tom Willey and his wife Denesse exist only between the cracks of the enormous corporate system.

The Willeys say a combination of smart marketing, hard work and sheer luck keeps them in business. They grow a panoply of "trendy" vegetables (gourmet varieties with names like Arugula, French Fillet Beans and Baby Savoy Spinach) on 35 acres of rented property just east of Fresno. The only land the couple own is the one-half acre of fill-dirt beneath their house in town.

"The few family farmers who are getting through right now are the ones who lease their land or who already owned it 15 years ago," says Denesse, who is as rotund as her husband is thin but shares his dark brown eyes and his love for farming. "We joke about it," she admits, "but the best thing that ever happened to us was when the bank refused to loan us any money."

Already this year there have been three wholesale auctions in which 20 to 40 local farms were sold. Bank officials predict a net loss of 25 to 30 percent of area farms over the next five years in an area already dominated by huge corporate farms.

On a drive through the east side of the valley, in the Willey's old Honda car that has its front passenger seat removed ("Our sec-



ond pick-up," jokes Denesse), the effects of corporate control are not at first obvious.

Row upon row of grape trellises stretch across the flat valley floor, the individual plants appearing brown and stump-like in their early spring quiescence. The long dry season is just beginning here (it will not rain again until September), and the importance of the irrigation ditches that criss-cross the area is obvious.

"This used to be a diversified farming area," shouts Tom over the clatter of the engine. "Just look at it now. Mile after mile of grapes—and all of one kind. This is a table-grape farm."

**One hell of a place:** The roads are as straight as the rows of grape trellises and are named, fittingly, after varieties of grapes.

"We should show him Del Rey," Denesse yells, half turning toward her husband as we drive past Thompson (the popular seedless table grape) Street.

"Oh, yeah, you've got to see Del Rey," agrees Tom, nodding fiercely. "That is one

hell of a place."

Five minutes later we rumble into Del Rey where the crate is king. This is a packing-house town, where the produce from the surrounding valley farms is brought to be processed, boxed and shipped out. What appeared from a distance to be large dark-colored buildings, perhaps three or four stories tall, turns out to be mammoth stacks of wooden fruit crates that surround and tower over the many steel-walled packing sheds lining Del Rey's narrow streets.

"This is all there is to Del Rey," says Tom as we pass one enclave of crates after another. "The few people who live here are Mexicans who work in the sheds during the season. It's a dirt-poor town."

We pass through Del Rey's "residential area," a short tract of tiny houses squeezed in between the stacks of fruit crates. We see a total of three people: two children playing in their dusty front yard and a woman, probably their mother, who watches them, and us, from her front steps.

"Farmers used to pack their own produce," Tom says. "Now you've got these corporate packinghouses. Some of them send their own crews to your farm; they pick the crop and put it in *their* bins, take it to *their* packinghouse where they pack it under *their* label, market it and ship it out. And they give you whatever the fuck they want to."

Tom is by nature soft-spoken, and as he speaks his voice never rises to a level above what is necessary to be heard over the car's engine, but his anger and bitterness about what has happened, and continues to happen, to the family farmer in California is clear.

**Serfing in California:** "See," he continues as Denesse heads the car out of Del Rey and back out into open farm country. "You don't have the corporations owning *all* the farms—they don't *need* to. They just take over the money-making end of it and let the farmer become a kind of serf. A great system, huh?"

We drive back toward Fresno, past endless stretches of grape trellises, fields that are punctuated by occasional dark mounds of pomace, the residue of grape stems and seeds that are piled into heaps 20 to 30 feet high to dry and be used as cattle feed. The Sierra Nevada mountains rise above the valley floor to the east, their snowy peaks turning a light purple in the late afternoon sun. I think of a conversation I had the day before with an agriculture professor at a nearby college.

"The agriculture of the year 2000 and beyond is not going to be the traditional agriculture we've had for years," he said glowing with anticipatory relish. "Agriculture is really going to be handled by large corporations, by the chemical industries. Du Pont and Union Carbide are going to be doing the farming, with the appropriate management of the large corporations."

It strikes me that both the professor and Tom Willey are predicting a similar future for agriculture. Their reactions are very different, of course, because while the professor will be the beneficiary of that future, the Willeys will be the victims.

As we reach the fringes of Fresno we pass a section of farmland that is being transformed into suburbia. With farming unprofitable for the small operator, many farmers are selling out to urban developers who subdivide the land into small tracts that are in turn sold to affluent city dwellers with a yearning for the "country life."

"The blob," Tom calls the process.

A brightly painted billboard announces the offering of a new "estate": Appleseed. Two-acre parcels just minutes from downtown Fresno (and about 15 minutes from the wooden crate canyons of Del Rey, a piece of information not listed on the sign).

"Jesus," says Tom, pointing to the sole house as yet built on the former farmland. It is a miniature castle, complete with wooden-shingled turret and topped by a small red flag that flaps in the wind. He shakes his head in disgust. "Jesus," he says again, this time softly, almost inaudibly.

The next day as my plane returns me to the Midwest, I gaze down through spotty clouds at the spring fields below and at the many tiny towns—mere light-colored smudges from this altitude—and I try to imagine what those rolling hills that I have known all my life will look like covered with packing crates and imitation castles.

■ **Osha Davidson**, a frequent contributor to *In These Times*, specializes in farm issues. He is currently working on a book about the crisis in rural America.